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INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE CHURCHES

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INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE CHURCHES

By EDMUND deS. BRUNNER

Author of "American Agricultural Villages,"
"Village Communities," etc.

NEW YORK
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RESEARCH

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PREFACE

The primary purpose of the present volume is to assemble and interpret data about churches in relation to their environment in industrial villages. An industrial village is defined in this study as one which has a population of between 250 and 2,500 and which is dominated by a single industry.

The bulk of the data upon which the volume rests was secured by sending trained investigators[1] to spend a week or more in each of sixty-nine industrial villages. These field-workers not only obtained detailed information about the particular situation and problems found in every village surveyed and about the relation of the church to them, but also filled out questionnaires calling for precise quantitative data in regard to each community and within each community in regard to each church, school and industry. Additional data were also procured from the U. S. Census about seventeen villages that were incorporated.

With the exception of those villages in the Far West, the places studied were selected after consultation with such agencies as state departments of labor, state boards of education, state colleges, and trade unions. The villages in the Far West were selected by the Home Missions Council. Field work was carried on from February to October of 1929, and the writing of the report was completed in the spring of 1930.

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[1] These field-workers were the Misses Amber Arthun, Ann Craton, Margaret Heinsberger, Ruth Scandrett, Margaret Baldwin, three members of the senior staff of the Institute, Mr. Wilbur Hallenbeck, and the author.

In most cases the coöperation of the industry concerned was secured. Neither the name nor the precise location of any of the villages is stated, as a pledge was given to the coöperating industries that the identity of the places would not be revealed.

EDMUND DES. BRÜNNER.

CONTENTS

PAGE

Preface.. v

CHAPTER

I. Introduction.............................. 3

II. The People.............................. 13

III. Economic Conditions.................... 26

IV. Social Life............................. 55

V. The Schools.............................. 87

VI. The Churches and Their Programs....... 103

VII. The Response to the Church's Program.. 126

VIII. The Church's Support.................. 140

IX. The Church's Leaders.................. 153

Appendix.................................... 173

Index....................................... 187

TABLES

TABLE PAGE

I. Per Cent. Distribution of Population, by Nativity and Color, for Types of Villages 17

II. Population Gainfully Employed in Industrial and Agricultural Villages, by Age-groups 33

III. Proportion of Males and Females Employed in Dominant Industry. 34

IV. Hours of Work of Wage-earners. 37

V. Average Weekly Wages, by Sex. 39

VI. Company Housing: (A) Companies Furnishing Houses; (B) Equipment of Wage-earners' Houses. 57

VII. Services and Facilities in Sixty-nine Communities. 59

VIII. Frequency of Selected Social Services in Industrial and Agricultural Villages. . . . 60

IX. Social Organizations in Industrial and Agricultural Villages. 74

X. Ratio of Attendance to Membership in Social Organizations, by Types, for Industrial and Agricultural Villages. 77

XI. School Attendance in Industrial and Agricultural Villages. 89

XII. School Enrollment in Grade and High Schools. 90

TABLE PAGE
XIII. Distribution of Church-members, by Major Religious Groups.................. 105
XIV. Proportion of Resident Church-membership to Population in Industrial Villages (All Churches)........................ 127
XV. Active, Inactive and Non-resident Membership in White Protestant Churches.. 128
XVI. Sex of Church-members (All Churches).. 135
XVII. Sunday-school Enrollment and Attendance (White Protestant Churches)...... 136
XVIII. Attendance Interest (All Churches)..... 137
XIX. Average Value of Churches and Parsonages................................ 141
XX. Aid to Churches from Industry and from Home-mission Funds.................. 143
XXI. Per Capita Expenditures in Protestant Churches for Industrial and Agricultural Villages............................... 146

APPENDIX TABLES

TABLE PAGE

1. Number and Population of Communities, by Nativity and Color.......................... 175
2. Ratio of Males to 100 Females, by Nativity and Color................................ 175
3. Age-distribution by 10-year Intervals in Industrial and Agricultural Villages.......... 176
4. Marital Condition of Population, 15 Years of Age and Over.............................. 177
5. Status of Employees....................... 177
6. Gainfully Employed Males, by Age-groups.. 178
7. Proportion of Females, 15 Years of Age and Over, in the Various Marital Groups Who are Gainfully Employed....................... 179
8. Proportion of Illiterates in Population, 10 Years of Age and Over, by Color.......... 180
9. School Attendance, by Color................ 180
10. Distribution of Churches................... 181
11. Average Resident Membership of Industrial and Agricultural Village Churches, by Religious Groups............................. 181
12. Comparative Size of Industrial and Agricultural Village Churches.................. 182
13. Protestant Church-membership, by Sex- and Age-Groups................................ 182

TABLE PAGE
14. Distribution of Expenses in Protestant Churches.... 183
15. Occupational Status of Church Officers.... 183
16. Amount of Pastoral Service for All Churches and for White Protestant Churches........ 184
17. Average Salaries of Ministers for All Churches and for White Protestant Churches........ 185

INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE CHURCHES

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

When one thinks of "rural" America, one habitually thinks in terms of agriculture—of the open country with its wide farmlands and of the agricultural villages whose chief function is to serve the needs of the surrounding farm population; one is apt to forget that all that is rural is by no means agricultural. The fact is that approximately one village out of every four or five and one person out of every twelve classified by the United States Census as "rural" has no connection with agriculture and no dependence upon it for a livelihood.

Statistically overwhelmed by the population of the farms and of agricultural villages are several million people who are in the country but not of it. In the places in which they live not corn and wheat but coal and iron are the gifts sought from Mother Earth. The technique employed is not cultivation that enriches while it produces, but the surgery of drills and steam shovels that wounds the surface and, burrowing beneath, removes forever the prized veins of ore. Or perhaps the products of the fields and hills are here converted from standing timber into standardized lumber, from puffballs of snow-white cotton into piece-goods of the newest art shades and patterns.

Nearly fifty years ago Prince Kropotkin, viewing the decline of English agriculture, advocated as a remedy the marriage of industry and agriculture. More recently Henry Ford has seen in this idea the possibility of added resources for the farmer and low-cost production for the manufacturer of seasonal demand goods, with a peak in agriculture's slack season. For half a century or more America has tried the experiment of yoking farm folk to the urban machine. A new type of community has resulted, the industrial village, a place rural in size with a population of less than 2,500, but dominated by a single manufacturing industry, often by a single plant.[1] Most of these villages have not considered agriculture and its need in their planning, but now that the theory of the social thinker has been echoed by a modern industrial leader, added interest is lent to any study of this type of community and its institutions.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

The present investigation is specially concerned with the church in industrial villages, but this institution is considered in the light of the community situation. The problem of the church in villages of this type is especially important because of the meagre social life[2] which the inhabitants of industrial villages have as compared with people living in other rural communities, notably in agricultural villages. While even a church is not always found in the industrial village, it is at least found far more frequently than any other kind of social institution. Moreover the church is in theory supposed to be independent of any control save by its own members and by the ecclesiastical organization of which it is a part. As Protestantism has developed in America, the church is largely an expression of the sturdy individualism of a pioneer race, and important denominations hold that among their chief reasons for existence is the democratic freedom of action they assure to their local units.

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[1] It is this absorption in a single manufacturing enterprise that differentiates the industrial from the agricultural village. The latter is primarily a service station for the farmer, as was shown in *American Agricultural Villages* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research), Chs. II and IV; the former's contact with the farmer is purely incidental. The agricultural village, however, does have some industry, as the study alluded to shows, there being an average of 4.6 industries to each village, with an average of thirty employees in each industry, though about half the industries regularly employ on the average fewer than ten persons. These industries, such as creameries and canneries, are frequently related to agriculture or serve the farmer directly, as in the manufacture of fertilizers or crates.

[2] Cf. Ch. IV.

But in the industrial village the church faces an unfamiliar and difficult situation. The individualism of the ruralite is brought under the yoke of industrial discipline. Life is controlled not by the judgment of the individual but by the sound of a factory whistle, the word of a boss, the decision of an often unknown executive. In short, an institution born of individualism is here faced with a situation in which there is a high degree of social control. To discover the effect of this situation on the church and the adaptations, if any, that the church makes in its program because of this situation is one of the important tasks of the present investigation.

The problem concerns not only the local congregation but also the denomination. From the point of view of denominational administration, as at present organized, the industrial village is neither flesh nor fowl nor good red herring. The community in which it functions, while rural in size, is rural in no other respect. The types and tendencies of population are different from those found in agricultural villages, as are the bases of livelihood, the social life of the people, their hours of leisure, and their economic condition. The programs and policies in vogue in rural church administration break down or function but haltingly when applied to the peculiar situation existing in industrial villages.

Neither does the church in the industrial village resemble the city church. Here there are no teeming multitudes from which to draw a constituency. There is not the diversity of opportunities for employment offered by the city, nor are there the assets of highly organized social agencies upon which to rely in helping people out of trouble. There is not the economic base to support a large, well-equipped plant, many social services or a well-staffed church. The elaborate plans of the city and immigrant work department of the denominations cannot readily be geared down to the relatively small church of the industrial village. So specialized a type of community would seem to call for specialized administration.

In some denominations the administration of the churches in these small industrial communities falls in the rural, in some in the urban division. In few, if any cases, is either solution a satisfactory one either for the denomination or for the individual church.[3] This is a fact too little understood by the immediate supervisors of these churches whose function is to channel down to the local units the programs of the denomination.

The problem of the church in the industrial village, then, from the sociological point of view, may be considered as the problem of serving a rural community subjected to a high degree of social control not of its own devising. From the ecclesiastical point of view it is a problem of adjusting the church to the complex and unusual situation in which this type of community finds itself.

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[3] It was the difficulties in this respect encountered by the Home Missions Council that led it to suggest this present investigation to the Institute some years ago.

For unusual the situation is. Nowhere else in the United States are the people of a given locality so dependent upon the policy of a single source of control and the prosperity of a single economic function. In this respect the industrial village of today bears certain similarities to the southern plantation of the days before the Civil War. Perhaps a closer analogy may be found in the feudal estates of Europe in the pre-machine ages. In the modern world one must go to the tea and rubber plantations of parts of Asia to discover parallels to the industrial village of the present in America.

NUMBER OF VILLAGES

It is extremely difficult to estimate the number of such places. A great majority of them are unincorporated. The Census undertakes no special enumeration of special types of communities of this size such as agricultural, industrial, suburban, and resort. But out of the 18,000 incorporated and unincorporated villages of between 250 and 2,500 population, it is probable that approximately 4,000, with a combined population of about 4,000,000, fall in the industrial village class. It appears, therefore, that in this type of community lives a considerable minority, about one-twelfth, of the rural population of the nation. About one-tenth of the 100,000 town and country churches in the United States are in such places. The problem under investigation is thus of no slight importance.

DIVISION OF THE STUDY

The study divides itself rather naturally into two parts. Because it is evident that the position of the church in industrial villages cannot be understood apart from its environment, the first part of the study takes up the various types of industry found in these villages, their structure and environment, the kind of people that live in them, their economic, social and institutional life, and the effect upon it of the distinguishing characteristic of all such places, namely, the domination of a single industry. This environmental background occupies approximately the first half of the book. The second half is concerned directly with the church, its organization, program, and leadership, and its manner of functioning in the environment described. Throughout, because the rural industrial community has never been properly differentiated from the agricultural and because its churches are so generally classed as rural, comparisons are made between the industrial and the agricultural village so as to make clear the striking differences that occur in almost every aspect of life.

TYPES OF INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES

Not all industries have decentralized by seeking rural surroundings. In the main, industrial villages have been founded for two or three reasons. In the extractive industries the community has obviously been located where the desired mineral was to be found. Proximity to forests or other natural resources has determined the location of many small manufacturing centers, such as those devoted to making paper or furniture. Lumber towns must similarly seek timbered areas. In the early years of the textile industry and again recently an abundance of water power drew many a mill to the country. More recently, in addition to power, it has been an abundance of cheap, hard-working labor drained from the farms which has attracted textile mills to the country, especially in the South. These two industries, the extractive, largely coal-mining, and the textile in its various aspects, have produced the two most usual types of industrial village. In other cases lumbering, paper-manufacturing or specialties of one sort or another furnish the economic base. Communities with these varying economic bases differ, among other ways, in their permanence. When the forest has been cut down, without any thought for its conservation or reforestation, the village no longer fulfills an economic function. The sawmills are dismantled and the people move away. The same thing happens when a vein of ore is worked out. Unless the village attracts a new industry or finds a new function it dies.[4] The textile and other types of industry in these rural centers are far more permanent and can plan accordingly. The chief differences, therefore, are according to the type of industry dominating the village, the physical environment and the policy of the corporation, as can be seen in part from the brief descriptions of the dominant types that follow.

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[4] One of the most striking illustrations of this is Silver City, Colorado. This community, once devoted to mining, was unlike almost all mining villages, in being built most substantially. Many of the houses were of stone. At one time it was the county seat. Then the mine was abandoned. The county seat was moved and for fifteen years it stood deserted, its fine buildings tenantless. Recently it has taken on new life because the new flotation process makes mining of low grade ore practicable.

COAL TOWNS

Many of the coal-mining settlements are delightfully situated, but the smaller ones, or "camps," usually fail to measure up to their surroundings. They consist, typically, of a row or two of square wooden houses, a little shabby as to paint and rather shabbier as to front porches, set in bare-looking yards and extending along the bottom of a hollow. Behind them is the creek, in front the road and railway from each of which the sides of the hollow rise steeply. Some distance up stream one sees the tipple and loading trestle of the mine. The ground is deep with the black dust of coal brought in cars over the narrow tracks from the mine openings that scar the hillsides. Churches and schools are little different from the houses save for their belfries and their size. Larger centers are quite naturally more spread out. The school, two or three churches and the company office are easily distinguishable. The houses are not all of one color. There may be a hotel and baseball park, a small shopping center, and a cluster of better grade houses where the company officials live.

TEXTILE COMMUNITIES

The southern textile villages are obviously different. They are dominated by the mill itself, the largest structure in the community. Where industrialism has engrafted itself on an older community, the homes of the operatives cluster around the mill and stand as much apart from the rest of the settlement as do the shelters of the low caste people from those of the high caste in a Hindu village. Apart from this the differences are those of age. The operatives' houses in older centers are small, box-like structures, lacking in both conveniences and distinctiveness. When erected they doubtless represented an improvement on the mountain cabins that many of the original employees deserted to answer the siren call of a factory whistle, but today they give an impression that progress and civic pride have passed the village by. In one such village there is one well to each five or six houses and one outside toilet for every four houses, so placed as to be within ten to twelve feet of the kitchen door of each house. There are, of course, no sewers nor any means for garbage disposal. The houses leak and are in poor repair.

The new mill villages, especially where the management has had regard for the surroundings, leave little to be desired by the town planner and landscape architect. Of one of the best of such places the field-worker wrote:

> The principal streets are paved and all of them are graded and well-drained. Many of the streets have embankments of native stone and between these embankments and the sidewalks are masses of running roses. The park and the grounds of the churches, inn, office, hospital, community building, etc., are well landscaped. The grounds of the overseers' and store employees' homes are spacious and are planted with shrubs and flowers. The operatives have less ground around their homes but many of them have hedges and shrubs, while most of them have flowers. The sidewalks in the village are all paved, as are the steps up the terraces and paths to the doors of the houses. The entire village looks well cared for. The homes of the executives, overseers, and store employees are on either side of the park just as you enter the village. They are larger than most of the homes for the operatives

and obviously cost more, but the homes of the operatives are well built and all of the homes are freshly painted.

IN NEW ENGLAND

In New England rural industrialism takes on still a different aspect. The villages are unmistakably industrial but also unmistakably of New England. While there are houses of the square utilitarian type so often built by the unimaginative mill-owner, there are also the older houses of the colonial tradition, the town hall and sometimes the elm-lined streets. The homes are also more substantial than elsewhere. Here and there are company towns born full-grown beside some miniature Niagara that has enticed an industry from urban surroundings by the promise of cheap power. A few of these are ideal communities in their setting, layout and equipment.

All told the present investigation covered sixty-nine industrial villages with a total population of 77,470. Of these fifteen were textile and thirty-eight mining villages. Twelve places were devoted to miscellaneous industries and four places had two each, as coal-mining and coke ovens, coal-mining and a railroad shop. In population the two chief groups of villages were approximately equal. The textile villages were located in the South and in New England. Coal-mining communities were visited in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and Colorado, but most of them were in the Middle and Far West. Villages with the other industries were chiefly in the Middle Atlantic and New England states.

Chapter II

THE PEOPLE

The obvious approach to any study of the church in such communities as have been described is to inquire what sort of people form its potential constituency. In the main the sources of the population for industrial villages have been three. A considerable number of foreign-born are to be found, originating in southern and eastern Europe, who were part of the great flood of immigration into the United States prior to the World War. A smaller stream of foreigners are skilled laborers who went from the mines of Wales to those of Pennsylvania or from the textile mills of old England to those of New England. Finally, there are the native-born, most of them drawn from the less productive farming areas. In more than one-fourth of the communities studied industry had supplanted a declining agriculture. The industrial villages of New England furnished a source of employment for the discouraged hill-town farmer, just as the textile mills of the South attracted the southern mountaineer and the tenant-farmer.[1]

In the main, then, the population of these centers is made up of some whose prior experience has been exclusively rural and of others who have, at least for the extent of their residence in America, submitted to the discipline of industrial work. These two types of prior experience naturally affect the attitudes of the workers toward the church and its program. Where those whose experience has been rural are found in numbers, the church can probably survive longer with a purely rural type of program than would otherwise be the case. Where those with previous industrial experience predominate, the church must either find a method of approach and a program that will appeal to this class or be content to serve a rurally minded minority while the rest assume the attitude toward the church commonly credited to urban labor.

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[1] Lois MacDonald obtained the place of birth of 363 adults in three mill villages. Only 11.3 per cent. came from cities. Fifteen and seven-tenths per cent. were from the mountains and the rest from other rural areas in the same or adjacent counties or states. Cf. *Southern Mill Hills,* by Lois MacDonald (New York; Alex L. Hillman). Pp. 45, 86, 121.

Two sources of information furnished precise data in regard to population, the field study of sixty-nine industrial villages and a special tabulation of certain items from the 1920 Census[2] made with the coöperation of the United States Census Bureau for seventeen villages that were incorporated.[3]

In brief, the Census data show that the industrial village has more persons of foreign birth or parentage but fewer Negroes than has the agricultural village. It has more males than females, whereas the reverse condition is true for agricultural villages. In its proportion of children it greatly exceeds both the city and the agricultural village. By the same token the proportion of young married people is higher and that of old people lower than in the agricultural villages. There is less variation in the marital condition of the population than in any other particular save that the industrial village has markedly fewer widows than the agricultural.

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[2] The use of the 1920 Census figures so near to the taking of the 1930 Census may be questioned, but it is believed that the situation has changed little in the last decade in those particulars about which information was especially desired. Furthermore, it would be some years before the 1930 figures corresponding to those used in this special tabulation could be procured.

[3] Not all of these seventeen places were visited in the field survey, although all of them were considered for field projects and all fulfilled the essential criterion of rural-industrial villages, namely, that they had less than 2,500 population and were dominated by a single industry. A few of them, however, had once been entirely agricultural villages prior to the coming of the industry and still retained some of the functions of this type of community.

As compared with cities, the industrial villages have about one-sixth more native stock in their population but about the same proportion of Negroes. In the ratio of males to females there is practically no difference between the industrial village and the city in the South. In the other regions the city comes midway between the agricultural and the industrial villages. The industrial village exceeds the city in the proportion of children by almost the same degree that it exceeds the agricultural village. There is, however, little difference in the proportion of older people.

RACIAL STOCKS

The generalizations of the preceding paragraphs naturally vary according to the region. The native-white stock comprise more than three-fifths of the total population of these rural-industrial centers outside the South. The foreign-born and their children make up the rest except for a few Negroes.[4] The proportion of immigrant stock in the industrial villages is almost as high as in the cities. In the agricultural villages the proportion of foreign stock was found to be less than one-fourth.[5] Immigrants form a higher proportion both of the total population and of the total foreign stock in the industrial village than in the agricultural village, the inference being that the immigrant group in the industrial centers is of more recent origin than that found in agricultural centers, a great majority of whom had entered the country prior to 1900. These more recent arrivals, as in the cities, are largely from southern and eastern European countries of Catholic tradition. This circumstance, taken in conjunction with the high proportion of foreign stock in the population outside the South, results in the presence of many more Catholic churches than is usual in rural areas. In small centers like those under discussion this in turn means fewer or else weaker Protestant churches than the agricultural village possesses.

---

[4] The population figures of the field survey tally closely with the Census results, showing 62.7 per cent. of native-white stock as against the Census proportion of 63.4 per cent. For details see Appendix Table 1.

The South, as would be expected, leads in the proportion of Negroes in the population, but the percentage, 13.9 per cent., is barely half that found in southern agricultural villages, 26.7 per cent. The Negro in the agricultural village has many opportunities for employment as a farm laborer or domestic servant which do not exist in the rural textile community, where few Negroes are employed in the mills. Thus 85.5 per cent. of the population in the southern communities was found to be of native-white stock. In the distribution of the races southern textile villages resemble the mountain areas, from which so many of the rural industrialists of this region have come, more than any other type of community. These facts and comparisons are detailed in Table I and explain the small number of Negro churches, less than one-tenth of the total, found in these villages.

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[5] This and following comparisons with agricultural villages are taken from a special tabulation of 177 such places made for the Institute of Social and Religious Research in connection with its study of Agricultural Villages. See *American Villagers,* by C. Luther Fry (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research).

TABLE I—PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, BY NATIVITY AND COLOR, FOR TYPES OF VILLAGES
(U. S. Census, 1920)

NATIVITY OR COLOR	UNITED STATES			AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES				
	Total	Urban	Rural		All Regions*	Middle Atlantic	South	Middle West	New England
Native White.....	76.7	74.1	79.5	85.0	86.1	85.8	86.0	85.1	87.8
Native Parentage..........	55.3	45.2	65.9	69.3	70.7	56.3	85.5	66.6	64.5
Foreign or Mixed Parentage....	21.4	28.9	13.6	15.7	15.4	29.5	0.5	18.5	23.3
Foreign-born White	13.0	19.1	6.5	6.7	8.1	14.2	0.1	11.4	12.2
Colored..........	10.3	6.8	14.0	8.8	5.8	0.0	13.9	3.5	0.0

* Percentages based on seventeen villages with population distributed regionally as follows: All regions, 24,559; Middle Atlantic, 5,081; South, 8,700; Middle West, 6,235; New England, 4,243. Census data on industrial villages were not gathered for the West.

The high proportion of native-born in the South is held to be an asset by those who are promoting its industrial growth, as is shown by the following extracts from a bulletin published by the Duke Power Company:[6]

> To get a true picture of what sort of people these are, hark back a moment to the type of men who were companions of Daniel Boone and "Davey" Crockett. That is the kind that these are.
>
> . . . .
>
> Their descendents are true to those early traditions. They are energetic and ambitious. It is these qualities

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[6] *Piedmont Carolinas: Where Wealth Awaits You.* Pp. 7; 18-19; etc. See also *Industrial Georgia*, by Georgia Railway and Power Company.

> that years ago overcame the handicap of debt and stagnation left by the Civil War. They are keen to take their place in the forefront of the nation's development.
>
> . . . .
>
> There has been practically no direct immigration into either state (i. e., North and South Carolina) since 1760—and the population is 99.3 per cent. native born of native-born stock. Naturally, there are no un-American ideals, no notions of restricting output or shirking on the job.
>
> . . . .
>
> While the population of the region is predominantly white—69 per cent.—it is gratifying that the colored people also feel pride in the fact that they are native-born Americans and that they enjoy a position of self-respect and usefulness in the community. They perform much of the labor that in the North falls to the immigrant.
>
> . . . .
>
> Like the people who made this nation great, they are not afraid of hard work.

Distribution of Sexes

The South is also the variant in the matter of numerical relationship between the sexes. In the three other Census regions from which the sample villages were drawn the males exceed the females by ratios ranging from 104 to 109 males to 100 females. In the southern villages there are only 94.4 males to 100 females, the same ratio as was found in the southern agricultural villages. This preponderance of females is inherent in the organization of the textile industry, which employs large numbers of women. Many of the other industries which dominate rural centers are not of a kind that can use this type of labor. Mining, for instance, is exclusively a man's occupation. Indeed, in most of the bituminous coal villages unmarried women were leaving because there was nothing for them to do. In the anthracite communities this tendency was tempered by the opportunity for work in the nearby cities. Hence, the ratio of males to females in the Middle Atlantic States is 109.2 to 100 in the industrial but only 88 to 100 for the agricultural villages. Comparable figures for the Middle West are 106.3 to 100 for the industrial but only 95.1 to 100 for the agricultural villages.[7]

AGE-DISTRIBUTION

The third important contrast between the industrial and the agricultural village is in the age-distribution of the population. The economic opportunity offered by the rural-industrial community holds at home a high proportion of those finishing school and attracts young married people. Hence the high proportion of children in the population, more than one-fourth, as against less than one-fifth in both the agricultural villages and in the urban United States. Indeed in this respect the industrial village equals the farm population.[8]

The converse of this situation is to be found in the low proportion of old people. Barely one person in twenty is sixty-five years of age or over as against one in twelve in the agricultural villages. Indeed, the youthfulness of the rural-industrial centers shows even in the age-bracket from forty-five to sixty-five years, only one person in seven falling within that bracket in the industrial villages as compared to one in five in the agricultural. The regional variations in the matter of age-distribution are slight. New England alone deviates from the average to any extent with more older people and fewer children, but even this region follows the general trends outlined. The agricultural village to some extent is an old people's home, a substantial number of its citizens having retired from active work. The industrial village, on the other hand, is the home of children and workers, its life organized for the prime object of production.

---

[7] For detailed comparisons on this point see Appendix Table 2.

[8] See Appendix Table 3.

These sharp contrasts between industrial and agricultural villages in the age- and sex-distribution of the population have clear implications for the church. Of necessity women dominate the church of the agricultural village because they are in a considerable majority in the population. But if women preponderate in the churches of industrial villages, it is not because of a corresponding preponderance in the population, but because for some reason the church fails to appeal to men.

In the rural-industrial community, also, the church is offered an exceptional opportunity to minister to youth. Since married people under 45 years of age comprise a majority of the population, the constituency of the church is mainly composed of comparatively young people with life ahead of them, not, as in the agricultural village, of older people, retired farmers and widows, approaching the end of their span, who ask of their church peace and consolation rather than activity and guidance. The large number of children and young people in industrial villages points to the possibility of more flourishing church schools and young people's societies and of proportionately more church-members under 21 years of age than are usually found in rural communities.[9]

RURAL RELATIONSHIPS

It appears from the foregoing that the industrial village church has a potential constituency markedly unlike that of the average rural church in a number of ways. Moreover these differences extend beyond the mere age- and sex-distribution of the people to the whole questiön of the relationship of the industrial village to the surrounding country. This relationship depends somewhat on the history of the community. If the industry has been located in what was originally an agricultural village the ties with the countryside are not soon broken, but in the main the industrial, in striking contrast to the agricultural, village has but tenuous relations with the surrounding rural territory.

The truth of this statement becomes apparent when the outreach of the industrial village and its institutions are studied. The average trade area of the villages studied covered only four square miles, this average being exceeded in only two villages out of five. The exceptions were for the most part of two kinds.

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[9] The Census data also make possible a comparison of the marital status of the population 15 years of age and over in industrial and agricultural villages. But here the differences are not significant except in the number of widows. The number of married males, 61.4 per cent. of the total, almost equals the proportion in the agricultural villages, 62.3 per cent. The proportions of single, widowed, and divorced men are also very close to those obtained both for the United States as a whole and for the agricultural villages. Among the women the differences are more striking. A larger proportion are married than in the agricultural villages, 62.4 per cent. as against 57.5 per cent. The age-distribution already noted probably accounts for this. The industrial village also has fewer widows among its women, 10.8 per cent. as against 14.2 per cent. in the agricultural village. For detailed data on this point, together with regional variations which with one or two exceptions are minor, see Appendix Table 4.

In the South the villages with larger trade areas than the average, with one exception, were also and originally agricultural villages. In the mining sections the larger trade areas were found where there were a number of small mining camps tributary to the main village.[10] Even on a Saturday afternoon one notices the almost total absence of the trucks and farmers' automobiles which are so characteristic a feature of Main Street, Farmerstown, U. S. A. Lacking the farm trade, the stores are about one-third fewer in number and are also poorer in quality than in the nearest agricultural village of approximately the same size.

Just as the stores of the industrial village fail to attract farmers, so the schools and churches make small appeal to the country people. The industrial village schools had no pupils from the country unless the village had a consolidated school that was part of a county system, or unless the village functioned both as an industrial community and as a service station to the farmer. In such instances, as has been pointed out, the industry was a relatively recent addition to an agricultural village.

In the case of the churches, only 9.3 per cent. of the resident membership came from outside the village, as compared with 31.6 per cent. in the purely agricultural villages. Two regions, the South and Middle West, exceeded this average by a few points, the excess being mainly accounted for by the presence of dual-function villages. An exception to this generalization must, however, be noted in the case of a few churches of a highly emotional variety which recruited a considerable proportion of their memberships from the surrounding country.

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[10] There was no relation between the trade area and the employment area. In the South the former was five times as large as the latter. In other regions the employment area was considerably larger than the trade area. This was especially true in the mining communities. Because of numerous shut-downs the miners ranged over a wide area by automobile in search of employment, and many mines drew a small number of their men from over a wide area.

In general, then, the church in the industrial village cannot count on receiving support from the people in the contiguous rural territory, whereas this open-country contingent is a factor of increasing importance in the agricultural village church and one that strengthens its rural affiliation. Naturally this is a situation that vitally affects the administration of church work. It means that country churches near industrial villages should be maintained if the farmers are to be served, and that any coöperation that is necessary must be on the basis of combining churches in circuits, not of enlarging parish boundaries. Regardless of the rural origin of so many of the industrial villagers, the farming people in most cases have less consciousness of kinship with them than with the agricultural villagers who exist to serve them.

Other relationships were no stronger. It had been expected that the younger generation from nearby farms would be found working in the factories or mines or that at least the farm might furnish seasonal labor to the industry. In the main this was not so. For the industries questioned, the average proportion of the regular pay-roll that came from the farm was slightly less than the 12.7 per cent. which represented those from the open country who were found earning their living in the small industries of agricultural villages. The proportion was brought up by several exceptional communities. In one industrial community in South

Carolina, which was also an agricultural village, 40 per cent. of the employees were living outside the village. Many farm tenants worked in the mill either regularly or during the dull season on the farm, and a number of the village merchants owned farms. Here the social and religious ties between village and country had remained close but in this case it was the country that profited, many villagers retaining their affiliation with one or another of the nine Baptist churches that surrounded the village within a radius of five miles.

In a Pennsylvania community nearly half the workers come from the country, but a majority of these are not real farmers. They have a small truck patch either to supplement their income or solely for their own use. About one-third of these country dwellers are, however, full-fledged farmers, and of these about one-half work in the industry from six in the morning until noon, and the other half lay off in the summer. All of them are young men who can stand hard work and all have been able to pay for their farms more quickly and to improve them because of earnings from their industrial occupation. The superintendent of the plant does not encourage farmers, especially those who stop work in the summer when he needs them most, but he reëmploys them because all are good workers. In one Ohio community a small coal-mining corporation encouraged farm-ownership by its employees, but this policy was opposed by the union on the ground that it would make the men content with lower wages. In only two or three other communities was anything like this situation found. So far as this sample of sixty-nine industrial villages goes, the tie-up between agriculture and industry is not close. In a number of places less labor from the farm is employed now than was the case some years ago.[11]

The truth seems to be that the rural-industrial plant attracts labor from the farm, but that it makes this labor wholly industrial. It transforms the restless tenant and the discouraged owner of marginal farmland who has been left behind in these days of mechanized agriculture, into the factory hand or the miner. The textile mills of the South and the coal mines of the Appalachian highlands and of southern Ohio have drawn off thousands from the poor-soil areas of the South. Elsewhere, as noted, the labor supply has also been recruited from among the foreign-born.

It appears obvious in the light of these facts that calling the industrial village "rural" does not make it so in the accepted meaning of that term. The sharp differences in the composition of the population, in the environment of the villages and in their relationship to the open country, as compared with the usual rural village, lend weight to the assumption of Chapter I that the institutions of the industrial village, and chief among them the church, cannot be considered or administered as rural. Before proceeding with a discussion of this question, however, further light on it will be sought through an examination of the economic and social life found in industrial villages.

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[11] The experience of the Ford Motor Car Company, in its experiments with rural industrialization in a few communities along the River Rouge, is that requests for release for farm work, which always are granted, have grown steadily less.

Chapter III

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

As was seen in Chapter I, the well-being of the inhabitants of an industrial village is perhaps more closely bound up with the prosperity of a single industry than is the case in any other type of community. Hence before examining the effect of the economic situation in rural industrial communities upon social and religious institutions it is necessary to consider the situation existing in the two principal industries, coal-mining and textile, that were found in the villages visited.

THE COAL INDUSTRY

The history of the coal industry throughout the world has been an almost continuous record of more or less severe dislocations to which two causes appear chiefly to have contributed: labor troubles and the seasonal nature of the demand for coal for household uses.

But the severest dislocation in the industry's history resulted from the World War, and it is this experience that has made coal production a "sick industry." During the war years the demand for coal was unprecedented and resulted in bringing into premature production a considerable number of previously unworked properties, entailing large capital investments and a shortage of labor. Prosperity reigned throughout the industry and its employees, through their trade organization, achieved reasonably good wages and working conditions.

With the return of normal times the demand for coal fell off from the war-time peak. Coincident with this came the development of coal substitutes such as oil burners, a movement accelerated by the first post-war strike, and the vast development of the use of electricity instead of coal for the production of industrial power. This sharp drop in the consumption of coal has resulted in a bitter struggle for survival among the coal operators, with victory going to those who were the fittest financially, who were the most conveniently located and who enjoyed the lowest labor costs. The last-named advantage was possessed by the non-union mines. They could more readily adjust their labor costs and soon began to undersell the unionized mines, thereby receiving a disproportionate share of the business. Many union mines were forced to close or to work only part time.[1] At this juncture

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[1] The situation is graphically revealed by the table given below which is taken from Bulletin 454 of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics entitled, *Hours and Earnings in Bituminous Coal Mining, 1922, 1924, and 1926.*

COMPARATIVE WAGES OF TONNAGE WORKERS IN UNION AND NON-UNION STATES, 1926

State	Average Wages per Start*	Average Days Mines Operated
Union		
Illinois	$8.90	172
Indiana	8.20	173
Ohio	6.71	159
Non-Union		
Alabama	4.57	266
Kentucky	5.18	230
Tennessee	3.49	234
Virginia	5.04	263
West Virginia	5.85	247
Mixed Union and Non-Union		
Pennsylvania	6.18	224

***The number of "starts" are the days on which the miners went to work. Because of the difficulty of keeping track of the actual number of hours worked by piece workers, the "start" rather than the day is taken as the unit.**

the so-called Jacksonville wage-agreement, which had established a basic wage of $7.50 per day for the bituminious field, expired. The operators refused to renew it, and on April 1, 1927, the United Mine Workers called a strike in the soft coal fields.

Coincident with these developments came considerable advances in labor-saving devices for the loading of coal which have been installed on the theory that the mine which can keep down its costs of production will get what business there is. In the mine in one village studied this new machinery had resulted in a 40 per cent. reduction in the working force. There is much bitterness among the miners over the installation of machinery. They are bewildered and fail to understand that the crisis in coal has brought about an industrial revolution for which their union officials have done little to prepare them.[2] The plight of the older men is especially pitiful. They cannot cope with the heavy machinery which exhausts even the younger men. Man after man is forced out, and there they are, gaunt, haggard and old at forty-five, after twenty years or more in the mines, deprived of a means of livelihood. As the use of machinery increases, so will the problems presented by this class of miner become more acute, offering opportunities for social service of a high degree.

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

In some respects the textile industry has had experiences not unlike those of the coal-mining. The first extensive development of this industry in the United

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[2] For a full discussion of the situation cf. Edward Hund, F. G. Tryon and Joseph Willits, *What the Coal Commission Found* (Baltimore; Williams and Wilkins).

States was in New England, but scattering mills were erected in the South soon after the war between the states, and by the end of the last century the movement to build mills near the source of supply was on in earnest.[3] By 1927 both the Carolinas had passed Massachusetts, the former leader, in the number of active spindles and in the value of textile products. Of late years commercial agencies and power companies have made a determined effort to secure the transfer of mills from New England to the South. They have stressed not only the nearness to the source of supply but also cheaper and 100 per cent. American labor, "ambitious yet docile," "free from any taint of disloyalty or communism," and the "more liberal labor laws of the southern states;" some of which claims the series of strikes and riots throughout the South in 1929 have considerably deflated.

This industry also enjoyed great prosperity during the World War and for more than a year afterwards. The necessity for procuring uniforms, blankets and other equipment for millions of men brought unprecedented activity to the textile industry. Existing mills were greatly enlarged and new plants were erected. With the depression of 1920 the textile industry entered a period of lean years. The war business ceased and the normal demand for certain products was curtailed because unused government supplies were dumped on the market. The industry was confronted with a lower level of business in the face of an increased plant capacity. Competition became extremely bitter. Every effort was made by increasing efficiency and wage reductions to reduce production costs.

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[3] For a history of the development of the industry in the South see Mitchell, Broadus, *The Rise of the Cotton Mills in the South* (Baltimore; Johns Hopkins Press, 1921).

The latter expedient brought on a series of strikes in the New England textile belt, ending with the particularly stubborn conflict in New Bedford in 1928. The effort to increase efficiency in the South, combined with the prevailing long hours and low wages, produced the series of walkouts and strikes in this area in 1929 that have written the names of Gastonia and Marion, N. C., with letters of blood on the pages of the history of the labor movement in the United States.

It is situations such as these that motivate the policies of the industries which dominate four-fifths of the villages studied and influence local economic conditions. The status of the church in the industrial village can be properly understood only in the light of these economic conditions which are peculiar to this type of community. Hours of employment, wages, labor turnover, and similar factors effect and often condition the work of religious agencies. Some of these factors will, therefore, be considered.

GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT

The industrial village is a tremendously busy community in normal times. In the United States as a whole 70 per cent., and in the agricultural villages 68.3 per cent., of the males fifteen years of age and over are gainfully employed. In the industrial villages the proportion is 72 per cent.[4] Except in a single age-group (10–14) in the Middle West, the industrial villages have a higher proportion of gainfully employed males for every age-group and in every region than have the agricultural villages. For females also, although there are marked regional variations, the proportion of gainfully employed is relatively high, 18.5 per cent., which is 3 per cent. higher than in agricultural villages and 7 per cent. higher than for the United States as a whole.

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[4] The years ten to fourteen inclusive have been omitted from this comparison. The proportion of males of this age-group employed for the entire United States is 8.1 per cent. as against 4.9 per cent. in the industrial villages. The national figures include, however, a large number of Negro children employed in cotton picking and are not strictly comparable.

One of the striking features in the employment situation in the industrial villages as depicted by this Census sample is the necessity for such older men as there are to keep on the job. In the agricultural village the retired farmer spends his twilight years in comparative leisure, busied only with his garden, his home, and community affairs. This element is almost entirely lacking in the industrial village. More than three-fifths of the men sixty-five years of age and over are still gainfully employed. In the agricultural villages the proportion is only 46.4 per cent.

The industries in these communities apparently do not consider forty-five years of age as the deadline for employment if these Census figures mean anything. There are jobs for older men. Chapter II has shown, however, that there are far fewer persons of this age-group than is normal for a rural village. Men do not live as long at mining as at agriculture and the "stretch-out" system in textile mills will make it harder for old men in this industry. Old men were "laid off" before younger ones in the depression in the coal industry. The 1930 Census results may show a different picture, but the necessity that has kept older men on the job when they could work will not be removed.

Where economic pressure forces a high proportion of employment upon older people, there child labor is also quite often found. This appears to be true in the industrial villages, especially in the South and in New England. Even in these regions the proportion of boys and girls under fifteen years of age who were gainfully employed does not seem excessive in view of the relatively recent date of the child-labor legislation. It is possible, of course, that the ages of working children were not truthfully reported to census-takers, but it is also probable that the 1930 Census will show a decline in the percentage of the employed group ten to fifteen years of age as a result of the stricter enforcement of school attendance and employment laws in some states. It must also be borne in mind that in many states, especially in the South, it is legal for a child to work as soon as he reaches the age of fourteen.

The facts on the employment of females depict the great difference in the economic opportunity for this sex as between textile villages and those where rural industry is given over to mining or the heavier sort of manufacturing. The high proportion of females employed in the South and in New England, one-third and one-fourth respectively, as compared with the low proportion of about one-eighth in the other regions makes this quite clear. In the Middle Atlantic and mid-western states the agricultural village holds a better economic future for women than the industrial. Just how long this condition will continue in the Middle Atlantic region is problematical. In the anthracite section economic conditions within the industry and economic opportunity in nearby towns and cities were resulting at the time of the survey in the employment of not only the daughters but to some extent the wives of coal-miners in the silk mills that were springing up. Women so employed were living at home and commuting to and from work. Table II and Appendix Tables 5 and 6 give the data in detail upon which these statements are based.

TABLE II—POPULATION GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES, BY AGE-GROUPS
(U. S. Census, 1920)

Age-Group	Per Cent. Gainfully Employed								
	ALL REGIONS		MIDDLE ATLANTIC		SOUTH*		MIDDLE WEST		NEW ENGLAND†
	Indus.	Agric.	Indus.	Agric.	Indus.	Agric.	Indus.	Agric.	Indus.
	MALES								
10 years & over..	76.9	71.8	77.1	75.0	75.9	74.3	74.6	67.9	81.7
10 to 15.........	4.9	3.5	2.7	1.7	7.7	6.1	1.8	2.9	6.8
15 to 20.........	64.7	43.4	64.6	47.4	68.0	45.6	56.1	39.9	69.6
20 to 45.........	97.2	93.7	98.3	94.9	96.2	94.1	96.7	92.3	98.6
45 to 65.........	93.0	88.6	94.4	91.3	94.1	94.0	89.8	83.5	94.5
65 & over.......	61.1	46.4	67.0	51.7	67.7	64.1	50.5	37.3	64.4
	FEMALES								
10 years & over..	21.4	19.1	13.4	19.8	31.8	21.8	10.5	17.5	24.8
10 to 15.........	2.9	1.1	2.5	.4	5.1	2.1	0.0	.8	2.5
15 to 20.........	41.2	22.0	29.7	29.8	55.2	20.0	15.4	21.9	56.8
20 to 45.........	26.2	27.4	16.1	28.7	37.5	29.3	14.6	26.5	29.6
45 to 65.........	14.0	16.3	8.5	16.9	19.2	21.2	7.3	13.3	20.8
65 & over.......	7.6	6.7	2.8	6.6	12.9	12.3	3.7	4.8	9.8

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* The southern figures in each case include the Negroes but the industrial villages have proportionately only half as many Negroes as the agricultural. In the agricultural villages the proportion gainfully employed in the white group was 1.3 points below the total average. The comparable Negro figure was 1.6 above the average. In other words, the differences were not great. Cf. Fry, *American Villagers*, pp. 74-77.

† No data for agricultural villages.

EMPLOYMENT IN BASIC INDUSTRY

But more impressive than the numbers employed in industrial villages is the absorption of the entire community in a single industry. A special tabulation was made for the villages on which Census data were secured, of the number of persons working in the dominant industry, whether coal-mining, textile manufacturing, paper-making or whatever else. It developed that more than half the employed males and, excluding mining villages, more than three-fifths of the employed females were on the payroll of whatever was the dominant industry of the community. These figures are shown in Table III. In the communities visited in the course of the field work more than two-fifths of the entire population and four-fifths of the males of all ages were employed in the dominant industry. These proportions are more typical of the

TABLE III—PROPORTION OF MALES AND FEMALES EMPLOYED IN DOMINANT INDUSTRY
(U. S. Census 1920)

Region	Number of Communities	Employed Males		Employed Females	
		Total	Per Cent. in Dominant Industry	Total	Per Cent. in Dominant Industry
All regions........	17	7149	54.3	1932	47.5
Middle Atlantic...	4	1579	66.2	243	1.6*
South............	6	2324	54.2	1045	61.2
Middle West......	5	1848	49.8	243	11.9*
New England.....	2	1398	46.9	401	61.1

* Dominant industries, except for one middle-western village, do not offer any opportunity for women.

industrial village than the figures given from the seventeen villages about which Census data were procured, since several of these retained some of their original functions as service stations to the farmer and hence had a wider range of occupational distribution. In the agricultural villages not much more than one-third of the males were engaged in all types of manufacturing and mechanical industries. Probably only in one-crop agricultural areas is there as high a concentration of the gainfully employed in a single occupation as exists in these industrial villages. In the farming communities, furthermore, there are many units of production and a majority of the gainfully employed have managerial responsibility. In the industrial village the people are wage-earners; the managerial functions are performed by a very few persons and quite often these are non-resident. It follows, therefore, that perhaps more than in any other type of community, urban or rural, the church in the industrial village is serving a constituency with one occupation, and thus it is comparable to the farmers' church in the household-farmer stage of rural development or to the church in an all-tenant farming community in the South. Furthermore, these people are lower in the socio-economic scale than are agricultural villagers in that there are fewer proprietors, officials, managers, public officials and representatives of the professions.[5] Less than one per cent. of the resident employees in the villages studied were executives, and foremen and clerks accounted for less than 4 per cent. In other words, as is shown in Appendix Table 5, more than 95 per cent. were wage-earners. By contrast, in the agricultural villages nearly one-fourth of the gainfully employed males and one-eighth of the females are proprietors, officials or managers. An eighth of the males and more than one-fifth of the females rank as clerks.

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[5] Cf. Fry, *American Villagers* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research), pp. 82-92.

It is this absorption of so large a proportion of the population in a single economic enterprise that makes possible the high degree of social control that an industry can exert in the industrial village.

Predetermined as this condition is by the very nature of the community, it has none-the-less far-reaching implications for any social agency or for the church serving the population. As will be shown later, a business depression or a strike can quickly dislocate more or less completely the entire social organization of the village.

HOURS OF LABOR

Another factor conditioning the work of the church is the hours of labor. The woman's program of the average rural church is built on the assumption that the women can command their own time, but when, as in the textile villages of the South and New England, more than three-fifths of the adult women are employed in the mill for many hours a day, there are fewer attendants for the weekly quilting bee of the Ladies Aid. Similarly with the men, an eight-hour day means leisure for various activities that are quite impossible under the longer hours prevailing in a majority of the industrial villages.

Hours of labor varied with the industry and the region. The industrial villages in the Middle West and Middle Atlantic States were for the most part operating on an eight-hour day. This was especially true in the coal-mining centers and reflected the success of the unions' efforts to win better hours. Even in the mining communities, however, on account of the distance from home to mine and the fact that working time often did not begin until the miner had reached his place in the mine, the workers were usually away from home for ten hours or more.

The longest hours were worked in the textile mills, usually nine and a half in New England and ten or eleven in the South, although in one southern village the day shift toiled twelve hours and twenty minutes daily. Perhaps prevailing hours of labor per week offer a better comparison than the day rates. Table IV gives this comparison. The figures agree closely with the findings of the 1920 United States Census, which indicates that at that time more than three-fourths of the textile employees in New England worked forty-eight hours or less a week, while in the

TABLE IV—HOURS OF WORK OF WAGE-EARNERS

REGION	AVERAGE* WORKING HOURS			
	DAILY		WEEKLY	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
All regions....................	8.5	10.0	48.0	55.0
Middle Atlantic..............	8.0	....	48.0	....
South..........................	10.0	10.0	55.0	55.0
Middle West..................	8.0	....	39.0†	....
West...........................	8.5	....	47.0	....
New England.................	9.5	9.5	49.5	49.5

* Median average.
† Low figure is due to plants or mines operating only part time.

South nearly ninety-five per cent. worked from fifty-four to sixty hours. A recent investigation of the textile industry by the United States Department of Labor showed that the hours per week had increased slightly but steadily since 1920.[6] The textile mills frequently worked two shifts, day and night. This meant a further dislocation of normal routine, for women as well as men were employed on both night and day shifts.[7] Of the women employed nearly one-fourth were married, so that in such homes the two-shift system means a radical reorganization of the administration of the home.[8]

As will be seen later, the long hours worked in southern textile mills are felt by both ministers and church-members to influence adversely church attendance. They also deprive the ambitious worker of leisure to prepare himself for another occupation and hence limit effectively his contractual freedom. Just as hours of employment affect the investment of time a wage-earner can make in social and religious activities, so his income conditions his financial support of church and social organizations.

WAGES

Data on wages were secured only for wage-earners since, as already shown, they constituted more than nineteen-twentieths of the employed group.

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[6] Bulletin 492, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. The investigation covered eleven states and 158 representative mills employing more than 88,000 wage-earners.

[7] It is interesting to note that all night work in the textile mills of Japan has been abolished since June 30, 1929.

[8] See Appendix Table 7 for the marital status of employed females in the seventeen sample villages for which Census data were procured.

The data set forth in Table V show quite clearly that the textile industry pays lower wages than the others. The two regions where this industry predominates among the villages studied rank below the other two which have industries more susceptible than the textile to the influence of trade unions.

TABLE V—AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES, BY SEX

REGION	AVERAGE* WEEKLY WAGES	
	Male	Female
All Regions	$24.31	$17.00
Middle Atlantic	28.80	....
South	15.50	12.00
Middle West	24.00	....
New England	26.00	21.00

* Median average.

In this connection it is interesting to note that President Kendall of the Taylor Society, the pioneer association of management engineers, at its 1929 meeting recommended that a movement be inaugurated within the textile industry for a nation-wide agreement to reduce weekly hours of work to "at least fifty" with no decrease in pay. He also recommended filling any vacant places in the day shift, when they arise, with women from the night shift, and filling the places left by these women with men. By this means night work for women in the textile industry would ultimately be abolished. Mr. Kendall is an owner of mills in both the North and the South,[9] a fact which lends added interest to his proposal. Thus a mill-owner and an efficiency engineer, for purely economic reasons, supports the social creed of the churches which calls for the "reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, . . . an eight-hour day for women and the abolition of night work by women."

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[9] Cf. *The New Republic* (December 12, 1929), p. 79.

So much controversy is currently raging concerning wages paid in the southern textile industry that four additional sources of data are of interest. In the pamphlet *Piedmont Carolinas; Where Wealth Awaits You,* issued by the Duke Power Company (page 20) the "high average" male wage is given as $5.71 for the textile industry. The "low average" is $2.12. The comparable wages for females are $3.08 and $1.88. In *Industrial Georgia,* issued by the Georgia Railway and Power Company (page 47) average wages for laborers, spinners, carders, dyers, finishers, knitters and examiners range from $9 to $13 a week, four classifications being under $10 and the rest, with one exception, over $12 but under $13. These figures are taken from a 1922 report of the Georgia Department of Commerce and Labor. The 1925 United States Census of Manufacturers stated that the average wage in the southern textile industry was $12.17 for an average week of 55.5 hours. The average annual wage was given as $632.95 per employee.

The special government inquiry into the textile industry alluded to above found that earnings per week had dropped from an average of $17.48 in 1926 to $17.30 in 1928, despite the slightly longer working day. This average is based on all wage classifications. Using the wages of 1913 as 100, this investigation discloses that the index of full-time cash wages for the textile industry has declined steadily, except in

1923–24, from a peak of 291.8 in 1920 to 203.1 in 1928, a drop of 30 per cent.

These falling wages and lengthening hours reflect the conditions in the textile industry and the efforts of the companies to restore the earning power of their mills. Almost coincident with the survey, efficiency systems were being introduced into southern mills, designed to increase the production per worker. The employees bitterly resented this so-called "stretch-out" system, and a series of spontaneous and largely unorganized strikes broke out in the Piedmont Carolinas. The attitude of the workers was frequently summed up in some such language as the following: "The efficiency experts seem to forget that slavery has been done away with and we don't intend to have it back."

WAGE EQUIVALENTS

The money payments to workers in industrial villages do not always represent the full return for their labor. Some companies furnish coal at cost, some electricity and quite a number, especially in southern textile villages, allow employees to live in company-owned homes at a rent that does not cover the cost in upkeep, taxes and interest on the investment represented. Rents in the South averaged $4.50 a month or just a dollar a room. Miss Herring estimates that the loss per house per year to the North Carolina mills ranges from $50 to $75 on pre-war construction and from $150 to $200 on better-grade new houses constructed under the high building costs of the last decade.[10] In other regions rents ranged from $8 to $10 on the average, or about $2 a room a month. Obviously this is relatively cheap housing and the saving of the wage-earner over average housing costs elsewhere can legitimately be regarded as having value as a wage equivalent.

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[10] Cf. Herring, Harriet L., *Welfare Work in Mill Villages* (University of North Carolina Press), Ch. X.

No effort was made to study the standard of living of these rural industrialists. It is quite apparent, however, that even with the value of these wage equivalents there is small margin for the average family to spend for what budget-makers call cultural expenditures, recreation or the support of the church. The facts that more than one wage-earner per family was the rule, as is proven by the observation of the field-workers, by the testimony of employers and employees and by the Census returns, that so many took in lodgers despite quarters already crowded, and that so many married women and old men were employed indicate economic pressure. Field-workers noticed, too, that automobiles were neither as numerous nor of as good quality as in the agricultural villages. Where local registration made a comparison possible it was found that, with but one exception, the proportion of families owning cars was lower than the state or national average. This was less true in the Ohio and Illinois coal-mining communities where most miners had some sort of car, usually of ancient vintage. The furnishings in the houses frequently were crude, ranging from boards and boxes with an old cloth over the window, to electric washing machines, golden oak furniture, radios and "lace" curtains. The surveyors discovered that while they may lack something in comfort, beds can be made from two by fours and broken boxes as well as from curved iron and steel springs, while "bedding" sometimes consists of articles not sold originally for that purpose.

EMPLOYERS' ATTITUDE ON WAGES

Employers of labor are naturally sensitive to any criticism of the wage scales. Usually the level of wages was defended frankly on the basis of the necessities of the industry and on the contention that the payments were adequate for needs. Here and there employers were found, however, who took a high moral plane in justifying the wages paid.

"Poverty," declared one, "is as much due to a state of mind as to the material conditions. Some people are workers and savers. They master their own appetites and impulses and soon become masters of others, and by their saving become capitalists. Other people are loafers and wasters, and no matter how much they may have or how great their income is their appetites and expenditures will exceed it." As an interpretation of those principles the speaker told a committee of the miners' group who had pointed to his own domestic arrangements as an argument when presenting certain demands to him: "The valuable things in life can never be bought with money, they have to be earned by the receivers of them. The best music of the world can be appreciated only by those who have earned by study and application the key to its beauties. Only the proper care of them entitles one to the possession of hard-wood floors and good clothing, while by economical shopping and good cooking the right to good food is earned."

"Enlightened self-interest" might describe this employer's theory of management that teaches the workers "to want the cultural things of life, and to know the difference between happiness and pleasure," while under scientific management he is strong for the doctrine that "the money used to increase the rate for their [the workmen's] energy should be stopped until they have caught up in learning the proper use of income, so that the income will not be wasted but will be used for their own betterment."

REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT

But the regularity of the earning power is as important as the wage scale. If a flood or fire causes a shut-down, if a depression gives the machines a vacation, if a strike alters the whole social and industrial situation, the pay stops and life in the community undergoes a transformation. Intense activity changes to all but complete idleness. The men sit on their doorsteps moodily looking into space. Those who gather in small groups upon a street corner are gloomy and discouraged. The priest in one community stated that it took nearly a year for the village to recover from a three weeks' shut-down due to a flood and the attendant damage. Everything from butcher's and grocer's bills to church dues slipped behind. In this respect, again, the industrial village differs from the agricultural. The farmer may experience a depression and his village trade-center will feel the results, but the farmer's work goes on. His products must be cared for and shipped. His income never stops. His home and food are assured.

In the middle-western villages, a majority of which were devoted to coal-mining, the average wage-earner had worked only three out of every four working days in the year prior to the survey.[11] In the Middle Atlantic states the miner's loss was one day a week on the average. Textiles, paper-making and indeed all other industries met with, were more fortunate in this respect, since they averaged 300 working days to the year.[12] But the hazards are not purely from what business contracts term "the acts of God." The appointment of a new manager for the local branch of an industry, especially in the South, often results in the discharge of a number of workers. Managers seem to acquire followings almost as do the "number one" boys of Oriental crews on trans-Pacific liners. When one is shifted, he makes place in his new location for those workers who have approved themselves to him elsewhere. No one can say how general this practice is, but the fear of such shifts was frequently mentioned to field-workers especially in two villages where new managers had just come and begun to make changes.

LABOR TURNOVER

Such situations, of course, contributed to the labor turnover, but accurate data on this factor were most difficult to secure. The total turnover was very small outside the South. With mines operating on part time and New England textile mills facing an uncertain future employees held on to their jobs. Turnover in all regions but the South averaged less than 12 per cent. In the South there seems to be a much greater restlessness. The habit of the tenant-farmer of moving on nearly every year seems to have carried over into his industrial experience. A government study[13] gives the turnover in the cotton mills at 189.5 per cent. Where obtainable estimates of labor turnover in the southern mills studied fluctuated so widely that no average has meaning. Miss Herring[14] states that one-fourth of the families are responsible for most of the turnover. Since the last hands employed are the first to be laid off if necessity arises, this restless group has less chance to settle down. Balked by the lack of data in the records of the textile mills, Miss MacDonald asked 187 families in three villages how long each had lived in their present place of employment. She found that more than one-tenth had been there less than one month. Nearly one-third more had lived in the villages she was studying less than a year. On the other hand, one-seventh had not changed their place of work for more than ten years and another sixth had resided where found from two to five or from five to nine years.[15] A common attitude of the restless minority among the textile workers was expressed in almost identical terms to several field-workers in widely separated communities: "You don't make money anywhere so what's the difference. You might as well travel and see the world." One of those expressing this sentiment was a woman who in some twenty years had been employed in more than one hundred mills in six contiguous counties in two states. Another worker explained: "People just get tired staying at one place and they move to get a change." Others have a blind faith that "things will be better at another place." Some, reading signs that make them fear a curtailment, move on in the hope that some other mill they may happen to reach will keep running full time.

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[11] In some of the non-union mines in this area, on the other hand, work was so plentiful that miners took off several days a month without pay when they might have been at work.

[12] Note the variation in days worked in union and non-union mines in 1926 as given in footnote on page 27.

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[13] *Lost Time and Labor Turnover in Cotton Mills* (Woman's Bureau, United States Department of Labor Bulletin 52, Washington, D. C., 1926).

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

[15] Cf. MacDonald, *Southern Mill Hills* (New York, Hillman, 1929), pp. 49, 89 and 124.

Because of the standardized methods and machinery, turnover is less of a loss to the textile mills than it might be in other industries, but the workers complain of the high cost of moving and the interruption of the wage that it entails. With some reason those whose residence has lengthened out in any given place admit that "one cotton mill village is just about like another, so when you find a tol'able place, you might as well stay."

EFFECTS OF DEPRESSION

But regardless of the cause of brief periods of irregularity in the receipt of wages, it is the long-time depression or the strike that has the most devastating effect. In one coal-mining community about four-fifths of the miners had purchased their homes from the operating company. The strike of 1927 came and the depression followed. The best part of the vein had been worked and costs were, therefore, rising. The company decided to abandon the mine. Their employees were left without jobs and with a nearly total loss on what they had invested in their homes. Many of these homes were only partially paid for, so that both the miners and the holders of mortgages suffered. The young people are leaving rapidly; the old are remaining in poverty. This was the story with minor variations of a number of places visited. Such a change of circumstances means economic ruin and deep discouragement to the workers. In one non-coal-mining village six- and seven-room houses with all conveniences were offered for sale at the end of a year's shut-down at less than $2,000, with no buyers. Yet three miles away at a summer resort four-room cabins on plots 100 x 75 feet were bringing more than twice that amount.

So in many centers where depression or strike or both stalked, houses were empty or the family was staying on while the wage-earner sought elsewhere for work. In two superior type villages, one in the mid-west and one in New England, one-fifth of the homes were vacant. Social life comes to a standstill in such situations. Baseball teams and bands disbanded. School enrollment declined. Churches with full-time ministers had gone on circuits and salaries of ministers and teachers were cut. Membership in social organizations and churches had melted away. Losses of from 25 to 40 per cent. in the enrollment in a year were not uncommon.[16] A number of community houses were also abandoned and stood useless and boarded-up as a result of these conditions.

In all of the communities so affected the stores were caught with thousands of dollars of uncollected and probably uncollectable accounts. Their lot was especially difficult where mines had been abandoned or a mill moved to another community. One coöperative store, an outstanding example of successful consumer coöperation for twenty years, was fighting for life with

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[16] In one community previously studied by the Institute of Social and Religious Research an amazingly successful pastor had built up his church-membership from less than 10 to several hundred in two years by means of a modern program. Then almost overnight the mines closed and four-fifths of his people moved away. Half a year passed. Demand overtook reserve stocks and the mines reopened. From somewhere the siren called new hundreds. The village teemed with life once more and the church-membership passed the hundred mark soon afterwards.

$80,000 on its books. During the New England textile strike in 1924 a number of industrial village stores had to go into bankruptcy.

SOCIAL RESULTS OF STRIKE

Starvation, near or actual, soon follows in the wake of such major economic dislocations, as field-workers realized whenever they visited communities that had felt the full brunt of untoward industrial conditions.

One unionized coal town before the strike and the depression had been a prize village. Rubbish was not allowed to accumulate in the yards. Flower gardens bloomed there and the yards were as trim as the houses were neat. Today the rows of dwellings are badly in need of paint. Windows are broken here and there. Fences have fallen down or are leaning over. Rubbish chokes yards overgrown with weeds. The wooden sidewalks have disappeared. The road is furrowed with deep mud ruts. The field-worker called at one of the houses set on a bleak, barren hill. Chairs there were none. Dirty quilts on the floor served as beds. A box was the table and on the table a single loaf of bread. As war-scarred as much of Europe is this once model village ruined in a war between capital and labor. The people for the most part have become shiftless; those who would be thrifty are despondent. Similar situations existed in a number of villages, especially in the bituminous villages in Ohio.

Starvation in some of these strike-torn villages is the real thing. It does not mean merely a poorer quality of food; it means almost no food at meal after meal. And in some of the places in which the miners have stubbornly refused to acknowledge defeat such conditions have prevailed for months. The humiliation of being starved into submission is plainly manifested in the attitude of the men. It is written on their faces. Everywhere is disillusionment, bitterness, resentment, brooding anger. It is felt in the empty, deserted streets, in the quietness of the hollow-eyed children. It is seen in the empty houses and vacated shops and is to be read in the signs advertising closing-out bargain sales in some of the few remaining stores. On all sides in such villages is the plain, mute evidence of defeat, but there is, too, the reiterated prophecy on the part of the men that this is not the end, that the miners must have a union again, that what has been once achieved, though lost, can be achieved again. True, the miners were not unaided. In Ohio alone the union spent more than $1,600,000 in the first two years of the strike. At the time of the survey, in the spring of 1929, 5,500 Ohioans were still on the union's benefit list, but the membership of the union had fallen to less than half the 45,000 with which it had begun the strike two years before. Other agencies, including the churches, had organized food relief, as was done in the southern textile strikes of 1929; but the long duration of the conflict and the great needs outstripped the resources.

Despite the losses in the value of its homes the non-company village has fared better than the company-owned community in the unionized areas. For where the miners owned their own homes there were no deportations nor were "scabs" imported. Thus the community was saved from internal strife. The boys and girls knew one another; the families visited; life was a bit more normal than in the company towns. When the union gave permission for local settlements, it was the old hands that went back to work in the non-company village and there was more hope of eventually restoring normalcy.

The entire situation has resulted in an aftermath of lowered standards in those mines that were at work in the unionized area. The official working day had been increased to nine hours from the legal eight. The mines were open at all hours so that men could prepare for the day's task on their own time in order to produce a larger tonnage. Formerly this practice was not allowed.

There was no check-weighman in the mines of most of the communities studied. The miners stated that safety provisions were being neglected and recommendations by state inspectors ignored. Protest by a miner, it was alleged, would bring discharge, and no worker dared risk that in view of the depression in the industry.[17]

There appeared to be few safeguards in the communities visited against such economic catastrophes as have been described. Unemployment insurance was nowhere found. Ten places each had labor unions and wage agreements, these being chiefly mining centers. Two so-called company unions were operating. In ten communities, half of them in Colorado, there were some efforts to have conferences on grievances or working conditions between employees and the management.[18]

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[17] A short time after the survey of one coal village two men lost their lives in an accident in the mine, due, according to the newspaper account, to the neglect of well-recognized safety provisions.

[18] Since the study, the joint employee-management committee in one village has been dissolved by the company. This village was in the South and was the only one in that region where any such attempt at coöperation had been made.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL RESULTS

Obviously, strikes, depressions, floods and lay-offs were not present in all communities. Such situations are "exceptional." But enough has been written to show how devastating the consequences of any of these contingencies usually are. The one-industry village is like the one-crop farmer. It has no anchor to leeward, no second line of defense. If the mill whistle fails to call its servants to their task, ordinary life stops. The people know this all too well. Because of it they live under a sense of insecurity and fear. In mining communities, too, there is the likelihood of sudden serious accident or death. It appalls some, usually the older ones and the married women. It intrigues others, the younger. The day's work over, they drive their ramshackle cars like mad down the valley road to the main highway and speed on to whatever of excitement the nearest big town offers. "Dangerous?" they say. "Well, you only have to die once," or "You've got to die sometime, why not now?" They are a fearless, reckless people, blunt, even violent, unhampered by many inhibitions. Theirs are the qualities of the pioneer reset to the tempo of the machine age. They spend as recklessly as they live for "there may not be another pay day." They have never heard of Horace, but if they had, they would paraphrase in modern slang and jazz his couplet:

> "Tomorrow?
> Tis not ours to know if we again shall see the flowers
> But Oh! Today is ours!"

This is perhaps how youth in a mining camp responds to the breakdown of isolation which in the old days shut out the world from those who toiled in the bowels of the earth. Others, however, respond more thoughtfully and with genuine thankfulness to the blessings of modern means of communication. An exceptionally intelligent miner in West Virginia had this to say of the main road that had brought physical and spiritual release to his community:

> But, taking the job for what it is worth, this camp, like many others, has been improved more by one condition than by anything else. Ten years ago what trails there were in this territory crossed the creeks lengthwise: it was said that in the summertime the roads were in the creeks and in the winter the creeks were in the roads. Travelling under such conditions was indescribably difficult and well nigh impossible; we were bogged deep in the dreary monotony of camp life. Now it is different; we are on the line of communication between large centers; new faces and things come past our own doors; we have the stimulating and comforting feeling that we are not forgotten, that we too are a part of the world.

Except for the lumber camps, other types of industrial villages were never as isolated as the mining towns, and in them life is lived more circumspectly, with more regard for conventional values and mores, but none-the-less the sense of living at the pleasure of a boss and the fear of what a sudden turn of Fortune's wheel may bring was met everywhere.

It is this psychology of insecurity that doubtless produces restlessness and increases labor turnover. It also makes it difficult to build enduring church programs, provide for leaders and secure the degree of interest and support that churches in agricultural villages seem to call forth. Above all it means that the church program must be "practical." It must offer some immediate return or the man who may be out of work tomorrow and living elsewhere next week will have none of it. In this respect social and religious work is unlike similar service in any normal type of rural community unless it be the community made up of "croppers" or other tenants rather low down in the economic scale.

Chapter IV

SOCIAL LIFE

The economic organization of the rural industrial community affects its social life and structure as vitally as it does the economic life. In every aspect of the daily association of the people the fact of the dominating industry has to be taken into account to a greater or less degree.

INDUSTRY, REALTOR

In a matter as fundamental as the dwelling-place of the family the industry plays a part of major importance. Of the eighty-seven companies operating in the sixty-nine communities visited, sixty-seven, or more than three-fourths, were the landlords of some or all of their employees. Only in New England was the proportion of company landlordism lower than three-fourths, and there two-thirds of the companies owned dwellings that were rented to their wage-earners. Altogether these sixty-seven companies were renting almost 6,000 houses or apartments to employees. In a number of instances, especially in some of the coal-mining villages, company-erected homes were being sold to employees on time payments.

This real-estate business of textile mills and of coal and paper companies is forced upon them by the very nature of their operations or by the type of labor employed. Miners must obviously live where the coal and ore are to be found. The very conditions that are responsible for the location of rural industrial communities, as described in Chapter I, compel the operating group to solve the problem of housing the workers it calls together; indeed nearly three-fifths of the companies had to erect houses also for their executives. Naturally, too, people fresh from Europe or from the tenant-farms of the South or from the mountain cabins of the Appalachians, as were the employees of these rural industries, have no immediate resources to purchase or build homes of their own.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

Housing conditions are, therefore, in many places of the industry's creation, and these conditions vary with the policy of the company and the age of the community. In any competitive situation, perhaps even with greater prosperity than textile and coal companies have enjoyed, conditions in some of the more poorly housed villages would have changed for the better some time ago. In one thirty-year-old mill village the tiny box-like structures, five or six of which shared a single hydrant, were probably an advance on the mountain cabins the first employees had left, but at the time of the survey they approached the aspect of a slum. In another community, on the other hand, houses of different designs and painted various hues perched on a hillside along landscaped roads, and looked down on a view that might almost be taken as Nature's laboratory model of Niagara Falls. In the main, company housing conditions were worst in the coal-mining villages and best in the southern mill villages. More than half the company-owned houses in the South had electric lights, running water, and a toilet. This was more than twice the national average. Nearly two-thirds had running water and all were lighted. In the Middle Atlantic states only 4 per cent. of the company houses had all three of these conveniences and fewer than three-fifths of them had running water. The record in the Far West was even worse. Table VI sets forth these facts in detail.

TABLE VI—COMPANY HOUSING: (A) COMPANIES FURNISHING HOUSES; (B) EQUIPMENT OF WAGE-EARNERS' HOUSES

Region	No. of Communities	(A) No. of Companies Furnishing Houses for		(B) Houses for Wage-Earners				
		Executives	Wage-Earners	Total Number	Per cent. having			
					All Conveniences	Electric Lights	Running Water	Toilet
All Regions.....	87	50	67	5,926	22.5	90.7	45.9	26.8
Middle Atlantic.	12	9	10	958	4.0	79.1	59.7	4.0
South..........	12	8	11	1,707	56.2	100.0	63.2	56.2
Middle West....	23	12	17	1,654	7.7	87.9	17.2	15.2
West...........	19	11	15	871	0.0	97.4	16.6	2.8
New England...	21	10	14	736	27.9	81.7	88.1	44.2

The housing situation is socially important from another point of view. More than half the people in these villages are the tenants of their employer.[1] Their tenure is not protected by lease, but lasts as long as the employment. If discharged, the employee loses both his job and his home. Activity in a labor organization may bring such a calamity to the worker. A strike, of course, frequently results in wholesale evictions.[2] Frequent alleged instances of dismissal because of minor disagreements with a foreman were brought to the attention of field-workers. There can be no question but that the control of the workers' homes gives considerable power to the employer. It also makes the worker more foot-loose. He is bound by no property ties, not even by a lease, and this freedom, as already shown, the southern textile worker is prone to use.

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[1] In the agricultural villages three-fifths of the householders owned their own homes.

All told, it is a difficult situation for those agencies engaged in social or religious work. It adds to the difficulties of building a program, enlisting the permanent interest of the constituency and training and keeping leaders for the work. Universal testimony seemed to show that social life was more normal, and social and religious work more easy in inverse proportion to the extent of the company's real-estate business.[3]

INDUSTRY AS SOCIAL WORKER

Be that as it may, the second outstanding fact about a majority of the villages studied was that no institution took as much responsibility for social welfare or contributed as much to organized social life as did the local industry. This was especially true of the South and West, where approximately half of twenty-five social services or institutions, so far as found, were company-supported. In the other two areas the ratio was just over one-fourth. This difference also approximately represents the differences between company and non-company villages. In addition, the local industries aided many social services and recreational activities that they did not actually furnish, a fact that must be borne in mind in reading Table VII, which

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[2] This occurred in the southern textile strikes of 1929, and field-workers were shown scores of eviction notices in the coal fields where the union erected barracks to take care of members who had lost their homes in the 1927 strike.

[3] Formerly the company was also the storekeeper of its employees and for much the same reasons that it became a landlord. This practice, however, is dying out. Barely one-fourth of the companies operated stores and in only three cases did prices seem high. Only in a few places, too, was there complaint that pressure was exercised to compel employees to use the company store. On the other hand, some companies took pride in their chain-store methods and general efficiency and confidently courted competition. Company stores were much more likely to be found in company than in non-company towns.

TABLE VII—SERVICES AND FACILITIES IN SIXTY-NINE COMMUNITIES

Type of Service or Facility	All Regions		Middle Atlantic		South		Middle West		West		New England	
	Total	Furn. by Indus.	Total	Furn. by Indus.	Total	Furn. by Indus.	Total	Furn. by Indus.	Total	Furn. by Indus.	Total	Furn. by Indus.
Total	651	258	80	21	135	65	195	75	127	67	114	30
Night School	14	9	2	2	5	4	0	0	4	3	3	0
Home Demonstration	9	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	4	0
Health Instruction	16	7	2	1	4	3	7	2	1	0	2	1
Public-health Nurse	50	9	6	1	4	4	17	2	14	0	9	2
Clinics	27	5	3	1	8	3	6	1	1	0	9	0
Hospital	26	10	1	1	1	1	5	3	17	4	2	1
Doctor	53	28	5	2	10	1	14	8	17	16	7	1
Gymnasium	14	7	1	0	4	3	6	2	2	1	1	1
Swimming-pool	10	5	1	1	3	2	2	1	2	1	2	0
Tennis	24	13	3	2	7	2	5	3	3	2	6	4
Baseball	45	24	8	4	10	8	13	6	7	0	7	6
Classes and Clubs	25	11	2	1	4	2	8	2	8	6	3	0
Band	12	5	2	1	1	1	4	2	3	0	2	1
Other Musical Org.	17	2	4	0	5	1	5	1	0	0	3	0
Dramatics	21	3	4	0	6	1	6	2	1	0	4	0
Reading-room	24	13	2	0	5	4	6	3	4	3	7	3
Library	29	11	2	0	9	4	9	2	3	2	6	3
Pool and Billiard	39	12	8	0	4	2	13	4	7	5	7	1
Movies	32	10	5	0	8	4	10	3	5	3	4	0
Bowling	14	7	2	0	2	1	6	4	2	2	2	0
Hotel	20	6	3	0	6	2	5	3	1	0	5	1
Boarding-house	34	15	5	0	8	0	7	4	10	9	4	2
Welfare Worker	14	8	0	0	5	4	9	4	0	0	0	0
Store	63	23	8	3	10	4	22	8	11	6	12	2
Community-house	19	15	1	1	4	4	7	5	4	4	3	1
No. of Communities	69		8		10		22		17		12	
Per Cent. of Activities Furnished by Industry	39.7		26.2		48.1		38.5		52.8		26.3	

sets forth the details of the inquiry into what industries furnished to their communities. From this table it appears that the industries were most interested in having resident doctors. Next to that they gave their support to baseball teams and community-houses. The table also shows what may be expected of the local people, business enterprise or some governmental unit. Thus visiting nurses and clinics, surprisingly enough, are being supplied almost entirely by school districts or the counties. Dramatics and musical organizations other than bands, where present, are usually promoted and sustained by the people.

TABLE VIII—FREQUENCY OF SELECTED SOCIAL SERVICES IN INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES

SERVICE	PER CENT. OF VILLAGES HAVING LISTED SERVICES*	
	Industrial	Agricultural
Night School	20.3	6.5
Public-health Nurse	72.4	50.0
Clinics	39.1	43.6
Doctors	84.0	96.5
Hospital	37.6	20.0
Library	42.8	57.0
Community-house	27.5	17.2
Moving-picture Theatre	46.3	85.7
Band or Orchestra	42.8	54.3

* Percentages based on 69 industrial villages and 140 agricultural villages. Data for agricultural villages drawn from *American Agricultural Villages*, Ch. VII.

Table VII also discloses many regional variations. For instance, doctors are furnished by the industry in five-sixths of the middle and far-western villages, practically all of them devoted to mining, but in only about one-sixth of the other communities. Apparently doctors will not locate in mining villages unless definitely employed. Again, moving-pictures are commercially supported wherever found in the Middle Atlantic and New England villages surveyed, but are furnished by the companies in nearly one-half of the other places where they were present.[4]

The difference between agricultural and industrial villages is shown again by a comparison of the social services they possess. Table VIII gives a comparison for ten selected items. The industrial villages lead the agricultural in the proportion having night schools, public-health nurses, hospitals and community-houses. The night schools were found chiefly in places with a high proportion of foreign-born and in the South. They were meeting a need not present in agricultural villages. The better hospitalization of industrial villages shows the greater occupational hazards of industrial work, especially mining. Mining villages had all but four of the industrial-village hospitals. The difference in the matter of community-houses undoubtedly reflects the great abundance in agricultural villages of buildings of a public or semi-public character. The 140 agricultural villages had nearly 300 lodges and other organizational buildings and in addition made large use of their school plants.

On the other hand, the agricultural villages led in the proportion having doctors and clinics, and also in the proportion possessing libraries, moving-picture houses and musical organizations. This may indicate that the agricultural villages have greater leisure or more cultural and recreational interests than the industrial. Certainly it reflects the greater leisure, among the women, and the higher economic level of their population. For if the night schools, hospitals, public-health nurses and community-houses furnished by various industries were removed from the comparison, it would be seen that the unaided agricultural villages secure more social services than do industrial villages when unaided.

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[4] The industrial villages are also dependent upon the operating company for water in almost half the villages. In three out of five places wells are used. There are municipal systems in only nine places. In half the villages the water supply is inspected by the state irregularly, yearly or less often, in the other half from every month to twice a year.

Paternalism, Pro and Con

The presence of an industry, then, gives the industrial villages proportionately more nurses, hospitals, community-houses, and also social workers, swimming-pools and non-school gymnasiums than agricultural centers have. Much of the social machinery of the industrial village is, therefore, company-constructed even if not company-operated. It exists at the pleasure of the company and is usually disrupted in the event of a long shut-down or strike, when perhaps it is most needed. Such a situation is highly artificial, at least in terms of ordinary life in rural communities. It allows for the possibility of a considerable degree of social control through economic pressure or because of the very prestige of the industry's position in the community. In many cases the control exerted must be characterized as paternalistic. The extent of this domination of the community by its industry varies from region to region and from place to place. At times it extends beyond social organization in the narrower sense of the term into the fields of education, politics, and, as will be shown later, even religion. In other instances the company makes every effort to minimize the dependence upon it. At times the same company will pursue different policies in different communities. The treasurer of one such concern, a southern textile company, contrasting two situations said:

> The company town in which the company controls everything is best. At F——— there have been but two cases of venereal disease all last year. At M——— the venereal disease incidence is around 10 per cent. Booze is kept out of F——— absolutely. We see to that. At M——— there is booze because we can't evict a bootlegger from a non-company house and an attempt to arrest one a year ago resulted in the murder of our policeman. The amount of paternalism we employ depends on the environment. F——— is isolated, so we put up a Y. M. C. A. and pay the secretary's salary. The running expenses are met through dues and admissions from the moving-picture show. We do nothing at M——— because there's a town two miles away where our people can get recreation.

There are similar contrasts in the personal attitude of operators and executives toward this so-called welfare work. Some throw themselves into it with enthusiasm and speak with fervor of "the great educational opportunities" offered the employees by a full welfare program. The task of organizing the community and bringing about an appreciation of the advantages offered some characterize as "a great dramatic and romantic adventure." Others oppose the spirit of paternalism but admit with a rueful smile the impossibility of avoiding some form of it.

Among the southern villages studied was one with an elaborate social program maintained by the industry. Three buildings are furnished, a community-hall, a Girls' Club and a Boy Scout Lodge. The company pays for a director for the first building and there is a health director who does some of the recreational work as well. A community council coördinates the activities of the many social organizations. The company tries to allow the people freedom of action and the spirit at the meetings and parties in no way suggested paternalism. The atmosphere was one of independence and freedom. The sixteen-year-old spooler was courteous to but not in awe of the mill superintendent and the educational director. However, even in this situation that seemed quite happy, the company could exert pressure. A May-day festival is given annually by the school. A year or two ago three families refused to allow their children to participate, one on account of the expense of the costumes, and the others because of their religious scruples against dancing. Field workers found the consensus of opinion to be that the objections were sincere. The mill superintendent, however, dismissed the operatives from these three families on the ground that they were not coöperating with the school. The people complained to the minister, who took the matter up with the company. For a time the issue created a turmoil in the village, and several public servants left. The company sustained the superintendent but has since paid for the costumes used on such occasions. In this place no such incident could occur again.

In one of the West Virginia communities the company community-building has won the right to its name by becoming the hub of all the activities of the area except for church services and social visiting. The company pays a full-time director to see that the wheels turn smoothly and continually. Activities are sufficiently numerous to discourage drinking or other pastimes of which the company disapproves.

The heartiness of the invitation to all employees to join this "Club Without Dues" is attested to by the following excerpt from a notice on the club bulletin board, and it should be said that the goods appear to measure up to the advertisement.

"AT THE CLUB"

1st—You can use the bowling-alleys free of charge, be taught bowling, or get information on the game.

2nd—You can have meetings in the building free of charge by arrangement with the director.

3rd—You can play checkers upon the checker tables free, and the checkers are furnished free.

4th—You can play cards upon the game tables free and park your cards at the desk.

5th—You can attend classes in arithmetic, mining and other courses to advance yourself and gain education free.

6th—You can attend the Big Smoker (for men only) and see wrestling, boxing and novelty acts. Many laughs and a good time FREE. We try to have these smokers on nights when the largest number of men will be off the next day.

7th—You can come in and practice boxing, wrestling and jiu jitsu as well as other sports and receive instruction or get information on these sports free.

8th—You can pay five cents (5¢) for use of clean towel (with it you are given soap and use of shower-bath free).

9th—You can borrow books free from the library on Tuesday and Friday evenings.

10th—You can read our magazines and daily papers free.

11th—You can watch the tournaments between the camp teams of No. 12, No. 2, No. 10 and No. 11.

12th—If you wish to come to the smokers, to educational classes, or to special events and have no way to come get word to the director of THE CLUB in advance and he will try to solve the problem.

> 13th—Monday night of each week is called "Ladies Night" and all of the women of THIS COMMUNITY, from Blair Mountain to Laurel City, are invited to come and play in, or learn, the sports and games.
>
> The foregoing are only a few of the reasons why THE COMMUNITY CLUB, "THE CLUB WITHOUT DUES," of which YOU are a member is a good place to go. Come in and get acquainted. Are YOU missing something?

In this building are conveniences and accommodations as rest-rooms, shower-baths, barber-shop, auditorium with stage and gymnasium combined, three good meeting-rooms, a well-equipped kitchen and equipment for dinners and banquets. Bowling-alleys, billiard-tables, reading tables and library service afford the employee much diversion.

A feature of the building is the fine lofty auditorium with a seating capacity of several hundred; the tall stage curtains of heavy maroon velour, the cost of which was contributed to by the Women's Civic Club, might well grace the stage of a metropolitan theatre. Dancing is not permitted in this, the only hall in the community, for the reason that early experiments attracted undesirables from neighboring towns whose actions on and off the dance floor were offensive.

The company supplied the lumber for the seating forms and the men made the forms. The Civic Club collaborated in equipping a library, a modern kitchen and a dining-hall at this building, and it also installed an orthophonic Victrola and two pianos and outfitted the ladies' rest-room.

In one northern community the company has definitely adopted a system of strict paternalism. It has provided a ball park and athletic field, and a well-equipped playground, and it pays pensions after twenty years of service. The executives go to the community dances "though of course the workers wouldn't try to dance with any of the wives." There are safety classes and a series of prizes for numerous kinds of achievement. But almost all of these efforts are under the management of the company men and the executives seem much afraid of any attempt to unionize its force. During a strike elsewhere in the industry in 1927 the roads to this village were guarded. The new school principal, who arrived at this time, was held by the police until he could establish his identity. In such communities a small majority of the employees interviewed were opposed to rather than friendly toward the welfare work when organized on a highly controlled basis. "We gotta like it," they commonly said. The young people and children, however, enjoyed what was done for them.

A New England concern that has several industrial villages, on the other hand, tries most sincerely to throw the weight of community management upon its employees. It has constructed a fine settlement in the center of which is a splendid community-house furnished by the industry. A rich social life centers around this house whose executive is on the company pay-roll.

"We had to do this much," explained the general manager. "Here, we build a plant out in the wilderness, twenty miles from a city and nearly half that from the nearest town. We ask people to leave that city and that town to work for us. We've simply got to offer them facilities for a social life rich enough to compete with the attractions of the city. But they decide what they want. We're willing to help, but our whole effort is to develop their initiative and leadership. We've had some disappointments but in the main it's worked."

This company has taken a similar position in regard to the government of the township in which its village and plant lie. It pays nearly two-thirds of the taxes and some of its employees sit on township boards. The company, however, asserts that it has never opposed the will of the voters and the fine schools and the town-hall would seem to bear out this contention.

Indeed, throughout the New England villages studied paternalism and efforts at political domination seemed much rarer than elsewhere. The people are interested in local government. Town meetings are well attended and discussion is freely engaged in. The employer-employee issue is rarely, if ever, raised. In a number of villages the mill officials, school-teachers and others testified that the naturalized foreigner was adapting himself to the tradition of the New England town government, and it was universally said that the industry could not control the politics if it would.

This happy state of affairs was not reported so generally elsewhere. In one community many employees testified that they were called together and notified that unless they voted for Hoover there would be a 5 per cent. cut in wages. In another village the mill desired to sell a municipal electric-light plant to a private concern. This community had long been an agricultural village. The mill was of recent origin and a social cleavage existed. The mill hands were, however, a majority of the population and the manager of the mill was mayor. He called the employees together according to the local social worker and "asked them nicely to vote for the sale of the plant because it would please him." The plant was sold and the resentment of the "old town" against the "mill element" deepened.[5]

"Our policy is to select our employees most carefully," said the president of a textile mill who has made welfare work and the appearance of his company's village a hobby, "and then we keep our hands absolutely off." Later the field-worker commented favorably on the neatness and attractiveness of the community. "We're strong for that," said the president. "If a man doesn't mow his lawn when he should, the company mows it for him and deducts 75 cents from his pay."

"I haven't any prohibition problems," said a northern plant manager. "No celebrations are held unless I know who are to be present, what sort of refreshments will be served and that there is to be no gambling. Otherwise——," and he shrugged his shoulders significantly. Doubtless this official was intellectually akin to the southern manager who would not tolerate dancing in any home owned by his company.

Paternalism, especially in the South but occasionally also in New England, is not always of the highly organized sort. There are some companies that not only avoid such amenities of the workers' existence as are entailed in providing instruction and amusement, but also eschew instruments of control such as a company store or policeman. Such concerns are usually family affairs and it has been a family tradition that the head of the mill should take a kindly personal interest in all the employees. He calls them by their first names and is acquainted with the personal problems of each family that his wage payments support. Benevolence in time of need is free and frequent, informal rather than formal, and is exercised in the spirit of the head of a family. In the few communities dominated by industries so controlled the labor turnover was reported as practically nil. In one such, though the average wage of $14.50 is below the average for the state, the death of the owner was greatly mourned by the employees who felt, as one phrased it, "as if they had lost a father."

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[5] In three communities out of five the preponderance of local opinion credited the industry with dominating the political life and government of the village. This occurred chiefly in the South, in West Virginia and in Pennsylvania. In one village out of five local opinion felt there was no domination, and in one out of five there was no consensus save for two places that were alleged to be union controlled.

Though, in the main and especially in the South, this paternalistic system of dealing with employees has not been pursued as a deliberate policy to ward off discontent and "trouble," it seems a fair conclusion that it has played an important part in promoting such harmonious relations as prevail. The system, however, has the defects of its qualities. If the workers are content, they are also likely to be sluggish about doing anything for themselves. They have become accustomed to look to the mill for their public and private welfare. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, to find a general disposition throughout such villages, to "let George do it"—George being the mill.

Pastors, schoolmen and others in such situations frequently felt that "the people have too much done for them." This has the added disadvantage in places where informal paternalism depends upon the attitude of a single owner or his family that if the family line ends and is succeeded by an administration made of that sterner stuff whose name is efficiency, social disorganization or even the chaos and bitterness of a strike may follow. The fact remains, however, that in a number of places the personal kindliness of the executive has created an industrial situation so harmonious that workers willingly remain under conditions which, when minus the human element, produced revolt in the very year of this survey.

It is outside the province of this study to assess the credits and debits of paternalism. The phenomenon is not new in history. There are real parallels between the relation of the management of rural industry to its employees and the relationship existing between the feudal lord and his vassals or the English country squire and his tenants.

In these days the responsibility and obligation of an industry to the community in which its plant is located is generally admitted. Indeed, the question of whether a corporation actually profits from participation in community activities has been answered in the affirmative by so many concerns that it has become axiomatic despite certain failures and disappointments. But the technique of such participation is still to be worked out, especially for the rural-industrial community. In the city much of this participation is through the medium of tax payments, which cover libraries, hospitals, public-health nurses, fire and police protection, and a score of other social utilities. Further payments to the community chest or to major welfare agencies discharge the corporations' responsibility to the community in general. Some plants go farther and operate considerable welfare departments under skilled social technicians. Whether the task be performed by itself, by the municipality or by the social agencies, the corporation is assured that a well-trained personnel will handle the problems of keeping or helping the community and individuals out of trouble.

But in the rural-industrial community this machinery is almost non-existent. What needs to be done for the most part must be done by the company, and this study discloses a wide variety of opinion and practice as to what should be done and how. Some concerns turn to the church, some to the Christian Associations, some to other agencies; some employ their own workers; some do nothing. But whatever the auspices, in the industrial village, the operating company is perforce responsible to a far greater degree than is the case elsewhere. There is no other agency, organization or group that can challenge the dominant sway of the industry or coöperate on terms of equality in reaching any social objectives. Under such circumstances a paternalistic attitude often offers the easiest way to the social organization of an industrial village.

It is made all the more easy because, with notable exceptions, the social workers employed in these communities are none too well qualified. This was found to be especially true where the industry was operating its own social work. Relatives of high executives or benevolently minded women from nearby places were sometimes chosen, particularly in the South. Workers elsewhere were better trained so far as the operation of their particular agencies were concerned, but they were usually quite guiltless of any knowledge of the fundamental economic and social problems inherent in the situation in which they found themselves.

With so much of the social life of industrial villages centering upon activities or agencies made possible by the company, it is pertinent to examine those attempts at social organization made by the people themselves.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Exclusive of the churches and schools but including company-promoted agencies that were formally organized, there were 298 social organizations in the sixty-nine communities visited, an average of about 4.3 for each village. In the agricultural village there was an average of twenty-one social organizations in each community, unconnected with any institution such as the school or church.[6] Here then is another sharp contrast between the two types of village communities as clear-cut in its way as the differences in the composition of population or in economic structure. The people of the agricultural village apparently have more leisure or desire for various forms of associations than those in the rural-industrial centers. Furthermore, social organization in the industrial villages follows more of the pre-war mode than does that in the agricultural. Nearly half the organizations, 144, are lodges. Less than one-third of the agricultural village organizations fell in this classification. Naturally, therefore, other types of organizations of the newer sort are proportionately less frequent than in the farmers' towns. The only exceptions concern educational and socio-religious groups which bulk larger among the total of industrial-village organizations because of company-inspired Parent-Teachers Associations and safety classes and scout groups under the welfare workers. Table IX compares the proportionate distribution of the various types of social organizations in industrial and agricultural villages.

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[6] Seventy agricultural communities in which immigrants made up one-third and their children another third of the population averaged 3.5 social organizations per community. The average population of these immigrant-farmer communities was, however, only half of the average of the industrial villages. Cf. Brunner, *Immigrant Farmers and Their Children* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1929), Ch. V, especially pages 103-115.

TABLE IX—SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES

TYPE OF ORGANIZATION*	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES		AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES
	Number	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
All Types	298	100.0	100.0
Fraternal	144	48.3	32.4
Social	35	11.7	12.4
Educational	32	10.7	5.9
Civic	32	10.7	15.1
Socio-Religious	26	8.8	6.0
Patriotic	14	4.7	8.7
Musical	7	2.5	3.4
Economic	4	1.3	12.1
Athletic	4	1.3	4.0

* For a full discussion of the classifications used Cf. *American Agricultural Villages*, Ch. VII. In brief, fraternal organizations are lodges; the educational include Parent-Teachers Associations, Home Bureaus, literary societies and the like; patriotic are chiefly locals of the American Legion; socio-religious include the Scouts, Christian Associations; economic are labor unions. The other classifications are self-explanatory.

The figures on organizations in this table do not agree on several items with those in Table VII. The latter table lists *activities* and counts those furnished by all agencies including the schools and churches. But even allowing for this, there are no athletic activities in nearly one-third of the industrial villages, nor musical groups in about one-half.[7] If the formally organized activities of schools and churches were added to the agricultural village count of social groups, it would more than double the number of organizations, and practically every village would have at least one group for every activity classification used in the table. It is quite apparent from this table that many of the industrial villages lack one or more types of social organizations. Only lodges were universally found. The regional variations in this distribution were not very important. Lodges were relatively more numerous in the Middle West than elsewhere and New England led in educational organizations. Non-company towns in all regions had more independent organizations than company towns.

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[7] Some communities had more than one athletic or musical activity under the same organization.

TRADE UNIONS

The small number of trade unions shown in the table has several explanations. A number of midwestern villages had many union members, but no local in their community. In others the union had died as a result of the failure of the coal strike of 1927. In the coal regions the union had often been a real social force. In three places the union hall had been, or still was, used as a community center. School entertainments were held there, as were community socials and dances. The lodges met there, and in one of these villages the union hall was used by Negroes for various meetings.

Representatives of "the public" in these coal-mining villages, namely merchants and garage-men, and many of the doctors and school superintendents, were heartily in favor of the union. They pointed to its social contributions, indicated above, and testified that it made the miners "better men." It stood for the payment of debts and took a strong stand against theft. If difficulties arose between members of the union, it often effected a peaceful settlement. Even some of the mine superintendents cautiously testified that in their mines the men were "better" under union than under non-union conditions.

In the South, of course, no unions were found. The survey there was conducted prior to and just after the outbreak of the strike at Gastonia, North Carolina. The subsequent response of the southern mill-worker in some communities to the radical textile organization is now well known, as is also the announced objective of the American Federation of Labor to unionize the South. But trade unions were all but non-existent in the southern textile industry at the time of this investigation. Nor were many unions found in New England, where various textile strikes occurring since 1920 had weakened or resulted in the death of some of the locals in the villages visited.

Attendance at Social Activities

Measured on the basis of attendance the trade unions did not show great strength, barely a third of the members being present at an average meeting. The poor attendance, however, was accounted for in part by the non-resident members who were working elsewhere. With less competition for the leisure time of the inhabitants almost every type of social organization secured a higher average attendance in proportion to enrollment in the industrial as compared to the agricultural village. Belonging to fewer agencies the industrial villager who had such connections went to the meetings of these agencies oftener than his agricultural village cousin, who with many connections slighted each one to some extent. Table X compares the attendance ratios for the two types of villages. In this connection it should be noted that the average membership of the agricultural village organization exceeded that in the industrial village in every classification by from 15 to 40 per cent., though the difference in average population was only 15 per cent. in favor of the farmers' town. A smaller proportion of the total population is, therefore, enlisted in social organizations in the industrial villages than in the agricultural. This group without any affiliations was found to be from one-third to one-half the population in several villages. Table X shows further that for both types of villages the fraternal organizations secured the least time investment on the part of their members and the musical and social the most. Regional variations in attendance were not important.

TABLE X—RATIO OF ATTENDANCE TO MEMBERSHIP IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BY TYPES, FOR INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES

TYPE OF ORGANIZATION	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES		AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES
	Average Membership	Per Cent. Attendance	Per Cent. Attendance
All Types	54	39.7	34.3
Fraternal	73	32.9	25.4
Civic	39	51.3	30.4
Patriotic	30	53.3	40.2
Economic	71	33.8	39.5
Social	25	68.0	75.4
Socio-Religious	25	85.7	58.7
Educational	33	83.0	50.3
Athletic	204	18.1	46.0
Musical	17	88.8	81.7

The South, Middle West and New England regions enlisted about 44 per cent. of their total enrollment at an average meeting, the other two regions about one-third.

COMMUNITY CONFLICTS AND CLEAVAGES

But more important than a knowledge of the formal social organizations in any rural community is some understanding of those factors and influences that unite or divide men and women. In the agricultural villages cliques and cleavages where they existed often followed bank, church or racial lines, and the immediate causes for such divisions seemed relatively petty. Divisions of this sort, though present, were rare in the industrial villages. For the most part what divisive issues existed had grown out of the economic situation. Thus, in many of the coal-mining villages membership in or loyalty to the trade union was the fundamental issue that divided the people. Sometimes a division within the union made for divisions in other social activities. Loyalty to the common cause of labor as against capital often broke down the barriers between native and foreign-born. A number of these villages had been definitely against the Ku Klux Klan. In a few communities racial cleavages had recurred with each new wave of immigration. In the early days the Pennsylvania farmers bemoaned the coming of the Welsh miners, though this expressed their opposition to industrialization and its ills quite as much as any prejudice against the Welsh. Later the native-born and Welsh found common cause in their contempt for the Poles and Russians but with the declining numerical importance of the Anglo-Saxons even this antagonism has begun to lessen. The more nationalities present in a community, however, the more difficult it is to organize a normal community life. As one Welshman expressed it, "In the early days, those of us who worked in the mine together met at church, visited in the homes of one another and were friends. Today, we have these other people with different languages, religions, customs and traditions. We in the mine have nothing in common with one another." This seems the general situation throughout the small towns in the anthracite mining area.

Where racial barriers had been raised among whites, the immigrant himself had been responsible as often as the native-born. Thus, in an Ohio community a group of Finns were as much shocked by the wild emotionalism of the American churches as by the drunkenness and immorality of those who did not belong to a church. They, therefore, organized their own church and erected a building by means of volunteer labor and various sorts of entertainments. Their social program included a singing society and a band. In broken English one of the leaders stated that no occasion was lost to point out to their children how superior the Finns were to the "uneducated" Americans with "their awful conduct, their awful religion and their prayer-meetings that could be heard for miles." Such situations, however, were not common.

Race Relations

As between whites and Negroes the situation was not always so happy. In the coal-mining villages racial friction or discrimination was rooted in the fact that Negroes had been used as strike-breakers in some of the earlier struggles in this industry. So while there are now Negro locals in the United Mine Workers, and while some locals have Negroes in their membership, cases were also found of discrimination against Negroes in rates of pay for equal work and in the distribution of mining supplies and strike relief. In one mid-western community antagonism resulted in dividing the school "to get rid of the niggers," as the woman school superintendent phrased it. A new school was erected near the Negro settlement and white school officials stated that "there was no bad feeling about it." Negro leaders contradicted this statement. They resented the action largely because the move had not been discussed in advance, nor was any appeal against the school board's decision permitted. Negroes have tried for four years to have one of their race on the school board but have never been permitted to do so.

On the other hand, in one village, relations between the two races have apparently been all but ideal for almost half a century. This community now has a Negro mayor and a majority of the town council and school board are also Negroes. The school superintendent is a Negro but half of his faculty are white. Negroes comprise a majority of the population at present but this has not always been so. They have, however, always shared in the local government. If the testimony of the local people is to be believed this condition of affairs has never developed a lack of harmony in the community nor has it been consciously fostered. The field-worker, seeking an explanation of the situation, was constantly told, "It's always been this way."

In the South, as already noted, Negroes are not employed in the textile mills except in certain places considered menial by the white hands. On this account, as the population figures have already shown, there are few of this race in the southern textile villages. While in a sense this is discrimination against the Negro, the relatively small number of colored people now living in the southern rural industrial communities means that from the point of view of the local community the race question is not a pressing social problem.

OCCUPATIONAL CLIQUES

Class distinctions other than racial, however, are found in the industrial village, and in some places are sharply drawn. They were especially noticeable in communities with more than one industry. Thus, in two places, one in Pennsylvania and one in Ohio, workers in the non-coal-mining industry of the community looked down on the miners, whom they considered "poor people." The proportion of native-born Americans in both groups was high. The fact that these self-styled "middle-class Americans" worked longer hours than the miners at a lower per-hour rate of pay did not enter into the matter. The "middle class" worked above, the "poor class" under ground. The latter were unionized, the former were of the complacent type, "right proud of our company's welfare program," whom the enthusiastic unionist may well despair of enlisting in a labor movement. Despite the nearly equal incomes of the two groups the distinction between the "middle" and "poor" classes in these communities carried over into social and religious organizations. While the number of villages with two industries in the nature of the case was small, facts such as these warrant at least a question as to whether in the North and West class distinctions are not more likely to occur in two- than in one-industry villages and to follow industrial rather than social lines.

In New England class distinctions were not serious. The stigma attached to work in the textile mills, which exists in the South, was entirely lacking in the New England textile communities studied. Cleavages existed, of course, such as those along racial lines, but they were not acute. The separation into groups such as the native- and foreign-born was usually on the basis of indifference or aloofness, not of antagonism, and even this barrier was breaking down in some places.

MILL AND TOWN

It was in the South that the presence of social distinctions was most acutely felt. It showed in two ways. In the first place, mill work is looked down on in the South. This was frequently denied by leaders in the non-industrial sections of some of the southern villages surveyed, places that had been and still were farm-service stations. Yet again and again, these same leaders would refer to "those people" or to "that element" in the mill village. "They are good people, these mill folks, but they won't mix with us," said a leader in one such community, who had been explaining that the mill hands would be entirely free to use the churches and social resources of "the town," as the non-industrial sections of southern mill villages are called if they have any.

Such a town and village situation results in curious anomalies. The community is one in that the industrial and non-industrial sections may be under one corporate organization served by the same town council and school board; it is two in that the industrial section is confined to a portion of the area the inhabitants of which are likely to vote at variance with the wishes of those of the other portion. It is one in that the school system includes all children, but two in that for the mill people the schools are exclusively an educational agency, while for the townspeople they are also a social agency. It is one in that the business and professional groups serve all the people; it is two in that the town looks to the country for the major portion of its economic life while the village looks to the mill.

While the physical structure of such dual-function centers makes for the separation of town and village it does not make for social conflict. The people live as it were in different worlds. The social and religious lives of the town and village are entirely unrelated. Conflicts occur where there is organic identity as in the case of the sale of the municipal electric-light plant described earlier in the chapter. But the very element which tends to cause such conflicts prevents absolute division. If it is economic interest that has created a village within a village, it is economic pressure which maintains apparently cordial relations. For the trade of the mill people, while a minor element, is a stabilizing one, and the businessmen "are friendly to the mill superintendent and have to be" even though, as in one case, he concerned himself not with grammar, used table manners that seemed most convenient to him and was careless as to where he deposited his tobacco juice.

However it came to be raised, the mill people feel this barrier between "town" and "village." They rarely go to the “town” part of their own communit They prefer an excursion to a nearby city where the cannot be identified as mill people doing what man southern mill communities call “public work,” becau it involves working for someone else—an interestin reminder of the intense individualism of the non-i dustrialized rural South. Several welfare worke reported that their mill people would not even go the “town” movie. Another evidence of this feelin was the comment of a hotel chambermaid to a fiel worker. She said: “The citizens don’t work in t mills; the poor people work there”; but she added th “public work should be better paid.”

This attitude carries over to the agricultural pop lation whose general point of view is that “a pers will do anything before he will go to a mill village If a farm family “sinks that low” that it becom “desperate” it seeks employment in a mill, but go invariably to a community in another county where is not known. The agricultural people think th “something happens inside a person” before he “final lets himself go into a mill.” In some places, howeve the agricultural depression is modifying this attitud People have become so poor that of dire necessit “good folks” are taking up mill work and hence such places the social status of the mill-workers improving.

Social distinctions also exist within the mill villa itself. The members of the recognized denominatio feel themselves better than those who belong to o of the emotional sects or to no church at all. Som times the more permanent and better paid employe are housed in one section of the village and the rest nother section. Perhaps a creek, the railroad or the ill itself marks the dividing line, and sharp distincions arise between those on the "nigh" side and those n the "yon" side, distinctions that extend even to the hildren in the school. You learn that "the folks on on side" are "poor trash," "shiftless," "not so ormal."

Yet the people are not cowed nor apologetic. They ccept their lot; they admit a sense of frustration; hey confess they are doing jobs they dislike, but "it's onorable work," "it's work as gotta be done," and hey have to do it to live. But in their social life the andicaps are forgotten. They act as they claim to elieve that they are "as good as anybody." The oung people are gay, free, interesting; their fathers nd mothers are cautious but independent and enteraining. This is true both on the "nigh" and the yon" sides of the village. And deeper down in these ormer tenant-farmers and mountaineers is that inense emotionalism and loyalty that have been fraught ith tragedy in some of the strikes of 1929.

The industrial village, then, is a community in which he social life and organization are dominated to reater or less extent, sometimes directly, always indiectly and perforce, by the industry. Formal social rganization is meagre when compared with that found n the agricultural village, but such as it is, it receives slightly better measure of support. Such cleavages nd divisive issues as disturb the smooth functioning f the social machinery are more likely to grow out of he economic situation than out of personal issues hough these are by no means absent. Furthermore it as noticeable that the various institutions did not fall into what might be called natural relationships as in the agricultural village. Leaders, even of school and church, were too conscious of the mill being over all and social life and groupings were often not as free and spontaneous in their expression as in agricultural villages.

Chapter V

THE SCHOOLS

Every aspect of the life of industrial villages thus far discussed has reflected to a greater or less degree the results of the domination of the community by a single economic factor. As compared with the normal rural community of similar size, the agricultural village, the people, the housing, the occupations, the economic security and the social life and organization are all different. Two institutions of the industrial village, that are found almost everywhere, the school and the church, represent not only the thought of the local people about education and religion but even more the thought and experience of America, developed for more than a century, about what schools and churches should be and do. These institutions are connected with state, regional or national agencies which insist upon certain programs and standards of performance and which furnish funds and supervision to the end that their demands be met. This, of course, is much more true of the school than of the church, since the former is an agency of the government, attendance upon which for children of certain ages is compulsory. In view of these considerations it is interesting to discover how far such an institution as the school in the rural industrial community varies from the average village school, to what extent it alters its program or procedures because of the peculiar situation of its community, and to what degree it is subject to the social control that affects so much of the life of industrial villages. In later chapters these questions will also be raised in connection with the church.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

The outstanding characteristic of the school situation is the relatively low proportion of those of school age who are attending school. The Census data from the seventeen industrial villages specially tabulated for this study, showed that only 64.7 per cent. of those between seven and twenty years of age had attended school during the year prior to the 1920 Census. The corresponding figure for the agricultural villages is 75.7 per cent., and for the United States as a whole 68 per cent. A detailed examination of the figures by age-groups shows that most of this difference occurs in the years fourteen to twenty inclusive, although even in the seven-to-fourteen age-group the industrial villages fall three points below the agricultural villages. Table XI sets forth the details of these comparisons.

Two facts stand out from this table. The only place where the record of the industrial betters that of the agricultural village is in the South in the seven-to-fourteen age-group. The Census sample of southern villages on which these figures are based included only six villages, but in these at least the school-attendance laws were evidently better observed than in the forty-four representative agricultural villages from which comparable data were secured.

The greatest difference between the industrial and agricultural village is in the matter of attendance in the high-school and college years. Barely two-thirds of the children between fourteen and fifteen years of age in the industrial villages, but nine-tenths of the same group in the agricultural villages are in school. Variations in the upper age-groups are even greater.

TABLE XI—SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES

Age-Group	All Regions		Middle Atlantic		South		Middle West		New England*
	Indus.	Agric.	Indus.	Agric.	Indus.	Agric.	Indus.	Agric.	Indus.
					MALES				
7 to 21......	64.6	75.7	57.6	75.5	64.8	71.6	71.3	78.9	64.3
7 to 14......	90.4	93.4	86.2	96.0	91.6	87.7	91.4	96.9	96.6
14 and 15....	71.5	87.6	67.2	90.0	66.3	82.6	87.5	90.0	64.9
16 and 17....	26.7	58.6	12.8	50.4	31.0	58.9	40.2	61.6	18.8
18 to 21.....	10.4	27.6	5.6	26.5	13.5	24.1	10.4	31.4	9.3
					FEMALES				
7 to 21......	64.8	75.6	63.3	74.8	61.3	72.5	71.1	78.1	66.8
7 to 14......	92.0	93.9	88.2	96.0	92.6	89.5	92.7	97.3	95.5
14 and 15....	66.3	90.1	55.6	91.9	62.2	86.0	87.5	91.9	60.7
16 and 17....	36.8	67.1	27.9	61.9	35.7	65.6	49.3	69.6	29.1
18 to 21.....	10.0	27.0	9.2	24.1	10.5	25.9	11.0	28.9	7.9

* No agricultural villages were studied in New England. The agricultural village average for All Regions includes data from the far-western states.

HIGH-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

These tendencies shown by Census data for seventeen incorporated industrial villages are confirmed by the field survey. Of the 17,513 schoolchildren living in the sixty-nine centers and attending the ninety-nine schools[1] visited, less than one-eighth were in high school. The comparable proportion of high-school to total enrollment for the agricultural villages is above three-tenths and the national average is above one-quarter.[2] Table XII gives the regional variations in the ratio of high-school to total enrollment. The number of high-school graduates going on to institutions of higher learning of any sort likewise was relatively only one-third as many as went on from the agricultural village high schools.

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[1] These data and all subsequent total figures in this chapter include the figures from the six parochial schools.

TABLE XII—SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN GRADE AND HIGH SCHOOLS

REGIONS	TOTAL ENROLLED	PER CENT. IN	
		Grades 1-8	High School
All Regions	17,513	88.1	11.9
Middle Atlantic	3,620	87.3	12.7
South	5,931	83.6	16.4*
Middle West	5,426	89.1	10.9
West	4,015	88.6	11.4
New England	2,536	97.6	2.4

* In the southern villages studied the school system includes only 11 instead of 12 years. Students enter high school with the 8th grade instead of the 9th as elsewhere.

As in the communities of immigrant farmers studied by the Institute, the enrollment of boys was slightly higher than that of the girls in the industrial village in the first six grades.[3] The single exception to this trend occurred in the South. In the seventh and eighth grades the girls led slightly in all regions. In the high school 54.3 per cent. were girls, indicating that the boys are employed earlier than the girls.

Attendance averaged 88.3 per cent. of the enrollment which represented a variation of from 83.8 per cent. in the South to 91.2 per cent. in the Middle West. As between the grade and the high schools the differences were unimportant. In the matter of attendance the records of the industrial village schools are slightly better than those in agricultural villages. This is doubtless due in part to the high proportion of farm children attending village schools. Pupils from a distance would be more influenced by bad weather conditions.

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[2] In seventy communities surveyed by the Institute of Social and Religious Research in its investigation of Immigrant Farmers and Their Children more than one-sixth of the foreign-stock school enrollment was in high school. Cf. Brunner, *Immigrant Farmers and Their Children* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1929), p. 64.

[3] Ibid., pp. 63 ff.

The low estimate, which industrial villages appear to hold, of education beyond the grades is due to a variety of causes. One is economic. Whether because of family necessity or because of the desire to have money, large numbers of children leave the day the law allows without stopping even to finish the month or year. Others who finish the term do not return for the semester following whatever birthday in their states frees them from compulsory school attendance, namely the fourteenth birthday in most southern states and the sixteenth in most of the others studied. This was the testimony of a great majority of school superintendents. What this means in terms of an individual school can be shown from a southern village that was rather above the average. It combined rural service-station functions with its industrial enterprise. Up to and including the fifth grade the mill village children exceeded those from the town. About 40 per cent. of the fifth grade annually does not go on to the sixth. Almost all of those who drop out are the children of mill-workers. By the time the high school is reached less than one-fifth of the enrollment arising from within the community is from the mill village. Numerically this group is only one-half as large as that which comes from the farm homes and country hamlets lying within the community's trade area.

Another factor in the low proportion of high-school students in industrial villages is both effect and cause. On account of the small proportion of pupils entering high school, a number of the villages studied did not have a high school but transported such students as desired to go on with their education to the nearest center possessing such a school. In some cases the tuition charges were not met by the pupils' home district but had to be borne by their parents, which also acted as a deterrent to advance beyond the seventh or eighth grade.

EDUCATION OF PARENTS

Another explanation of the weakness of the hold of secondary education upon the industrial villages lies in the educational status of the parents. More than 6 per cent. of the white population ten years of age and over were illiterate at the time of the 1920 Census, a proportion about double that of the agricultural villages.[4] Lois MacDonald in a survey of three southern textile communities interviewed nearly 350 heads of families and found that almost one-fifth had never attended school and that another two-fifths had had three years or less. Fewer than 7 per cent. had gone beyond the sixth grade.[5] Similarly of the children out of school but living at home well over two-fifths had not progressed beyond the fourth grade.[6] Conditions in the other regions were probably better than in the South, if it is fair to judge by the comparative figures on illiteracy in the absence of data such as Miss MacDonald's for these regions, but as the facts already given show, not enough better to affect the estimate of the community upon high-school education. Too many people had not progressed sufficiently far themselves to realize the value of education for their children. A situation such as this means that the church must deal with people of a lower level of educational attainment in the industrial than in the agricultural villages, a condition which affects the approach of the church to the people and much of the program, especially that of leadership training.

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[4] Cf. Appendix Table 8 for details on illiteracy by sex and region. In the South more than 10 per cent. and in the Middle West more than 7 per cent. were illiterates.

[5] Cf. MacDonald, Lois, *Southern Mill Hills* (New York; Alex Hillman, 1929). Data computed from tables on pp. 47, 87, 122.

[6] Ibid. Data computed from tables on pp. 48, 88, 123.

The question may arise as to how far the schools themselves may be responsible for the educational situation just described. The answer to such a question would require a thorough-going educational survey such as was beyond the scope of this study, but some considerations bearing upon this point can be summarized.

School Data

In the agricultural villages nine-tenths of the school buildings deserved a rating of good or excellent. In the industrial villages only three-fifths of the buildings could be so classified and one-fifth of them were very definitely poor or very poor. In many matters of equipment the industrial village school ranked below that in the agricultural village. The industrial villages, while in the main having one grade to a teacher, gave to each teacher about one-third more pupils to handle than in the agricultural village. The average number per class, thirty-three, is 10 per cent. above the usually accepted maximum for the best educational efficiency.

In terms of averages the industrial villages had poorer school buildings and more poorly equipped teachers and paid lower salaries than was the case in the agricultural villages. In an average locality, therefore, there might be less likelihood of the pupils being attracted to school work. But that is not to say that this type of community lacked good schools. Some excellent institutions were found, and where there was a good faculty and an efficient school, there efficient work was being done and good records were being made.

One southern mill village possesses a school considered one of the best in its state. It has a rich curriculum, conducts extension work and a night school. An educational director is employed by the mill.

INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION

The southern mills as a whole display a certain interest in education. In several of the states only a six months' terms is compulsory, but in most of the villages studied in those states, the mill paid directly for two additional months. In a number of instances in the South and in a few in the North the local industry, or one of its executives, was extending aid to promising students so that they might finish high school or even go on to college. On the other hand, the low wages paid are a stimulus toward putting children in the mill as early as possible, and some mills give house-room to families according to the number and hands each furnishes rather than according to the size of the family. Where this practice obtains, it discourages school attendance and is an added reason for the low ratio of high- to grade-school enrollment.

IN THE SOUTH

The relation between the industry and the school is much closer in the South than elsewhere and can best be stated in a summary of Cook's study of 119 mill schools in North Carolina.[7]

When the mill villages were established schools of some sort had to be organized, and it was cheaper for mills to provide them than to pay school taxes. In many cases the mills own the school buildings and subsidize the school. Sometimes the mill superintendents are school superintendents, appointing the teachers and directing the policies of the school with the consent of the county superintendent. Teachers frequently receive their pay checks in just the same way as other mill employees. In other cases mill-owners have less control, serving only on school boards, either directly or through a trusted minor executive.

While the principle that the "school is part of our business" is the general attitude of mill-owners, no instance in the study was found of the owners seeking to persuade children to leave school or not to go to high school. Nor was any effort made to influence the curriculum. A mill official, who was also a school superintendent, stated that the only instruction mill-owners insisted upon was that teachers must uphold work in the mills as an honorable vocation. The study shows statistically the gains to mills in financing schools instead of paying taxes for the normally organized and administered school.

In the type of schools over which the mill-owners have the least influence every mill school has an eleven-grade system. Where their influence is greatest there is a seven-grade system, and the children usually quit school the day they are fourteen, the age when they can be legally employed in the mills. North Carolina's child-labor law lacks an educational requirement for the employment of fourteen-year-old children. If children finish the seventh grade at thirteen, they have no further opportunity to go to school. If at fourteen a child wants to continue his education, he must pay tuition at some other school if the one in his community does not go beyond the seventh grade. Only one mill village had a part-time truant officer. Numbers of children of fourteen and fifteen years of age are unemployed and out of school.

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[7] Cook, John Harrison, *A Study of the Mill Schools of North Carolina* (New York; Teachers College Press, 1925).

The intelligence tests showed that the children of mill-workers, considered as a social group more or less segregated from the remainder of the population by living in mill communities and attending mill schools, fall considerably below standard in general intelligence. The native ability of this group, while lower than normal, is not as low as the scores would indicate. These children were handicapped because the teachers in mill schools have less training than teachers in regularly chartered schools and because they suffer from a great lack of reading material in both their homes and in the schools, which prevents their absorbing much general information and interferes with their mental growth and development.[8]

With the findings of this study by Dr. Cook the present investigation is in substantial agreement so far as it covered similar items. However, no instance was discovered of a mill superintendent acting as school superintendent, although in some communities the mill paid a high percentage of the budget in lieu of taxes. In others, the school superintendent's salary was augmented and in some the mill had erected the building and was paying for some of the equipment. In some villages, especially but not exclusively in the South, the school superintendent worked on the basis that the payment of the larger part of the taxes entitled the mill interests to special consideration from the school. In such places all plans for improvements to the plant, especially if involving a bond issue, were taken up in advance with the executives of the industry. In two cases the annual budget was also submitted.

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[8] Cf. also Herring, *Welfare Work in Mill Villages* (University of North Carolina Press, 1929), Chs. III and IV.

IN THE NORTH

In the regions other than the South the school situation from an administrative standpoint was entirely normal. The industries had no direct connection with the schools. In some communities plant and personnel were distinctly below average. Indeed, a few of the mid-western villages had the worst schools found during the investigation. In some places there were confessedly make-shift arrangements, especially in the coal-mining centers. In one such, an intelligent old farmer was school superintendent. He conducted his interview with the field-worker before his class and then discussed with her national and world affairs in general for several hours. He bade his pupils listen, saying: "It's not every day you have an opportunity to absorb as much information as this lady and I are imparting."

In a surprising number of coal-mining villages all or most of the teachers were graduates of the local school and were the wives or daughters of miners—a policy which is usually taboo in educational circles, but which in these villages had proved an asset in several ways. These teachers approached their task in a spirit of service to their own community and people and took more than ordinary interest in the progress of the school and the life of the community. Again, when the strike came, these teachers were sympathetic with the children and were useful in meeting the difficult situations that arose. Finally, in some communities such teachers were demanded because it was felt that "other teachers look down on the miner and his life."

Unfortunately the last-named reason seemed to be true, for in seven villages where teachers from the outside were preferred members of the school faculty did speak with contempt of the miners' living conditions and standards. This was especially the case in several villages in which the proportion of foreign stock was high. In one such the principal remarked that "these foreigners ought not be educated beyond the eighth grade." In that same school for two successive years Slavic boys had won highest honors in the high-school graduating class. Often boys over twenty years of age reëntered school and attended every day that the mine failed to operate. In one village a Slav succeeded in graduating from high school in this way, and this boy had also directed the high-school dramatics. On the other hand, some teachers reported that the foreign-stock children were more responsive, alert, appreciative, talented, and better mannered than the native-stock Americans. This testimony recalled that of some of the southern teachers to the effect that working with the "mill children" was more pleasant than with others because, as one put it, "mill people never raise a row about their children; they appreciate any attention you give them." In one Illinois village appreciation plus talent had flowered in some unusual drawings and paintings which won the first prize for the exhibit of this school at the State Fair for several successive years.

Too often the teacher's main desire was to get away from the industrial community. Those who came from that environment and a few others were conscious of the peculiar problems of their situation, but a majority conceived their task as teaching subjects not children.

In the main the industrial village schools, while not the equal of those in the agricultural villages, were doing fairly good work considering the vicissitudes of shifting population, losses of enrollment of from 25 to 50 per cent. on account of strikes or lay-offs, and the difficult disciplinary problems that were arising in those places from which the fathers had gone to seek work elsewhere.

Vocational Training

The industrial village schools also carried on fewer vocational or extra-curricular activities than those of the agricultural villages. Only one community in seven had any sort of vocational training as against three in five of the agricultural villages, and none of this training was designed specifically to fit the pupil for the local industry, a fact which seems worthy of note since the charge is sometimes made that the schools of industrial villages educate the children with a single view to later occupation in the local industry.[9] Industrial villages are frequently isolated, and without vocational guidance the boy or the girl has little opportunity to learn of other occupations than the few that can be observed and tends to enter such. But whatever the sins of omission of the school in the matter of guidance, no instances were found in this study of any discernible effort by the schools to hold the student to the narrow vocational mold of the community. In ten communities, however, there was some adult education and prior to the 1927 coal strike five other communities had conducted night schools. Most of these schools taught little but "mill arithmetic" or "mining practice" with a view to training potential foremen and superintendents, but a few had ambitious curricula including commercial courses, English, printing, citizenship, and practical electricity. Two or three villages in the South continued the "lay-by schools" in the summer, so called because they are conducted during the period when the farmer can to some extent "lay-by" from work before the harvest. Their object was to combat illiteracy. In several villages such schools had been discontinued because the number of illiterates had decreased sufficiently.

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

What has been said of vocational training can be repeated with respect to the extra-curricular activities and the work of Parent-teachers Associations. Industrial village schools had such activities and associations. Sometimes they played very important or even central parts in the social life of their communities. Frequently, as already noted, they were aided or inspired by the industry. But in terms of totals there was less of this sort of thing in the schools of the places surveyed than is normal for rural communities of the same size.

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[9] Cf. Evans, M. G., *American Federalist*, November, 1928.

The contributions made by Parent-teachers Associations where active were sufficiently important to suggest that such organizations could do much for rural-industrial communities. A typical instance of what can be done was found in one mid-western community. Here the monthly socials of the Parent-teachers Association brought crowds to the schoolhouse. Parents examined with interest and pride the drawings, maps and cut-outs which decorated the walls of the classrooms. They listened with keen enjoyment to the school orchestra and thronged the high-school library from which the men especially eagerly borrowed under certain restrictions. It is probably no accident that in this community the ratio of high-school to grade-school enrollment is more than one-third higher than the regional and one-fourth higher than the national average for industrial villages.

Parent-teachers Associations proved also to be real conservators and indeed developers of some community spirit, an intangible quality that was almost totally lacking in the industrial villages studied. But the contribution of the Parent-teachers Association to community spirit was evident, and perhaps possible, only where there were no important cleavages among the people. In villages which combined more than one economic function the industrial group was rarely, if ever, represented in the membership or activities of the Parent-teachers Association. In one southern village a successful association suffered real loss when a school consolidation brought in elements from outside the mill village community.

The school itself has a contribution to make in what is called civic education and this it can make through its regular curriculum and especially through the extra-curricular activities. In too few of the schools was this function being measurably fulfilled. Where it was most successfully practiced was in villages with a high proportion of foreign stock. The facts that the Welsh, German, Lithuanian, Russian, Italian and Polish children are taught in the same schoolroom, that they play in the same school yard, that they participate in the same athletics, and in the same dramatic and debating societies, make the second generation less conscious of differences in nationality.

In the industrial village, it develops from these data, the school is none too successful in adapting itself to the peculiar social and economic conditions with which it is confronted. Like other organizations in these villages, it is affected by the environment in which it works, even where it makes no changes in its technique or program because of that environment. Especially in the South, but elsewhere as well, the school is subject to the social control of the industry, though to a less degree than the individual and the purely local organization. Regardless of its connection with county and state supervisory officers, it has measurably succumbed to the forces that have given the socio-economic life of these villages their peculiar mold, although it has made no direct change in its curriculum at the behest of industry.

Chapter VI

THE CHURCHES AND THEIR PROGRAMS

When every other phase of life in industrial villages, even a governmental agency like the school, is affected by the uncertainties of the economic situation, it could hardly be expected that the industrial village church should escape the influence of its peculiar environment. In this and the two following chapters the effect of this influence will be discussed from the point of view of the church's program, support and leadership.

DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCHES

It was pointed out in Chapter II that the high proportion of foreign-born in the industrial villages might be expected to result in more Roman Catholic and fewer or weaker Protestant churches than were found in the agricultural villages. In the industrial villages 14.7 per cent. of the churches were Catholic as against 9 per cent. in the agricultural villages. Moreover, there were only 2.3 churches in the average industrial village as against 5.6 in the agricultural, though the difference in population is barely 15 per cent.[1] There were marked regional deviations from this average, chiefly the South, which averaged 4.7 churches for each village, and the West, where there was less than a church to each community. New England approximated the national average; the Middle West fell half a church under it and the Middle Atlantic states exceeded it by a church and a half. The variations were not nearly as marked, however, when the comparison was made on the basis of the number of churches for each given unit of the population. On this basis there are two churches for each 1,000 persons in the industrial villages as against 4.2 in the agricultural villages. Except in the West, where there are 1.2 churches for each 1,000 of the population, the deviation from this average in any given region is slight.[2]

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[1] The fact that the agricultural village church draws more than three-tenths of its membership from the country, whereas the church in the industrial village gets barely one-twelfth from outside its own boundaries, accounts for some of this difference in the number of churches, although there was an average of 4.6 country churches in the contiguous rural area of each agricultural village.

NUMBER OF CHURCHES

All told there were only 157 churches in the sixty-nine villages studied, twenty-three of them Roman Catholic. Of the 134 Protestant churches nineteen belonged to three Negro denominations. The remaining 115 were divided among twenty-four denominations, only one-third as many as were found in the agricultural villages. The distribution among the major denominational families such as general Protestant,[3] immersionist, liturgical and so forth was in the order named and was approximately the same in both industrial and agricultural villages, except that in the former there were more churches (ranking fourth) of the highly emotional type, such as the Holy Rollers, than in the latter. One church in nine was of this type in the industrial villages as against one in seventeen in the agricultural.

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[2] Cf. Appendix Table 10 for the details of this comparison.

[3] i. e. Protestant churches using the English language that were non-liturgical, non-immersionist, and that did not belong to the highly emotional sects: chiefly Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational.

The Catholic churches, though few in number, have, however, almost half the church-members found in these villages and in three of the five regions more than half the church-members were Catholic. The South was the only region in which 100 per cent. of the church-membership in the villages studied was Protestant. Table XIII shows these facts.

TABLE XIII—DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH-MEMBERS, BY MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS

REGION	CHURCH-MEMBERS							
	ALL CHURCHES		WHITE PROTESTANT		CATHOLIC		NEGRO PROTESTANT	
	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.
All Regions....	33,331	100.0	15,224	45.7	16,303	48.9	1,804	5.4
Middle Atlantic.	5,739	100.0	2,993	52.1	2,677	46.7	69	1.2
South.........	8,695	100.0	7,143	82.1	0	0.0	1,552	17.9
Middle West...	4,419	100.0	2,034	46.0	2,261	51.2	124	2.8
West*.........	8,463	100.0	904	10.7	7,500	88.6	59	0.7
New England...	6,015	100.0	2,150	35.7	3,865	64.3	0	0.0

* One Christian Science church with a membership of 13 not included.

The small number of churches for each 1,000 of the population has not resulted in large churches among the Protestant bodies. The average membership per church was 115 as against 140 for the average Protestant church in the agricultural villages. The difference between the churches in the two types of villages was practically negligible in the South, and was greatest in the Middle West where the average membership of the industrial village churches was only sixty-nine as against 153 in the churches of the agricultural villages. It is in this region that the proportion of ex-farmers in the total population is lower than elsewhere. It was indicated in Chapter II that this fact might have a very definite bearing on the appeal of the church to its potential constituency because of the different attitude toward the church of those with an agricultural as against those with an industrial experience. Membership of the Catholic churches, on the other hand, averaged distinctly higher in the industrial than in the agricultural villages.[4] It appears, therefore, not only that the Protestant churches are fewer in the industrial as compared with the agricultural villages, but that in most of the regions they are also weaker.

CHURCH PROGRAMS

Numerically weak churches usually, and naturally, mean meagre programs. The discussion that follows shows that in the main the truth of this generalization is borne out in the case of the industrial village churches. Just as their memberships are smaller, so their programs are more unambitious than those of the churches in agricultural villages.

SERVICES

The universal activity of all churches, Protestant and Catholic alike, is the Sunday service. For Catholics this service is the mass. There may or may not be a sermon, which is the dominant feature of the usual Protestant service. Four-tenths of the Protestant but nearly nine-tenths of the Catholic churches had at least one service a week and often more. One-third of the Protestant churches conducted two services a month, usually on alternate Sundays, though occasionally on one Sunday and one week night. The rest of these churches, one in four, met once a month, irregularly, or never. One reason for this failure to utilize every Sunday lay in the fact that more than one-third of the churches were served by clergymen who resided in other communities and ministered to more than one church. Even many of the churches possessing resident ministers shared them with weaker churches in other places.

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[4] Cf. Appendix Table 11 for regional details.

ACTIVITIES

In an effort to discover what the churches in the industrial villages did, a list of twenty-five organizations and activities was made up based upon the known activities of urban and rural churches.[5] The presence or absence of each activity or organization was then noted. Only three activities were common to as many as two-thirds or more of the Protestant churches, namely, preaching services, Sunday schools and ladies' aid. From a half to two-thirds of the churches had in addition a young people's society, a choir and at least one general social event each year. More than half also coöperated at times with community organizations or announced community events. Lectures, concerts and boy scouts were present in from one-eighth to one-sixth of the churches, but, as the chart below shows, other activities such as girl scouts, men's clubs, health work, special service for workers and the

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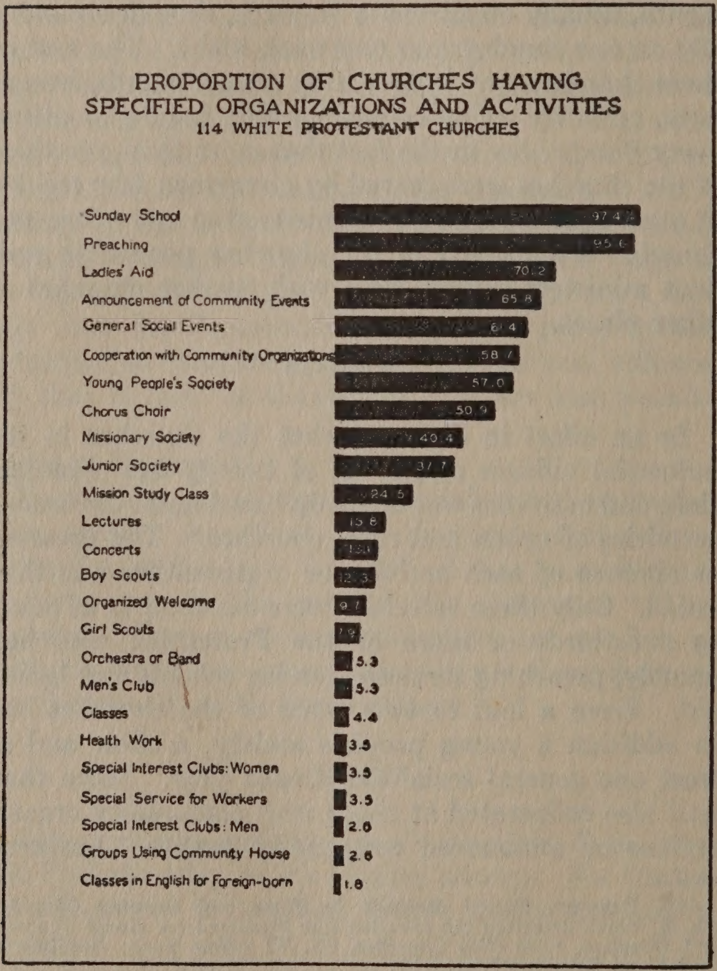
[5] Cf. Brunner, *Tested Methods in Town and Country Churches*, Ch. X, which describes the so-called Par Standard for Rural Churches and Douglass, *1,000 City Churches*, Ch. VI (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research).


PROPORTION OF CHURCHES HAVING SPECIFIED ORGANIZATIONS AND ACTIVITIES
114 WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

like were seldom found.[6] The average number of activities for each white Protestant church was 7.3. One-third of these churches possessed from ten to a maximum of fourteen of the twenty-five activities or organizations in the check list, though very few exceeded twelve. About one-half had five or less. Of the denominations the Methodists, North and South, the Presbyterians and the Southern Baptists exceeded the average of the entire group.

The Negro Protestant churches scored higher on the check list than the white churches, about one-half of their churches being credited with from ten to fifteen items. This is probably because the Negroes had fewer social organizations than the whites and, therefore, depended more upon their churches for supplying their social needs.

The regional variations in the list of activities were slight. In the main, the southern churches seemed to major more on the traditional aspects of the church program, those in New England stressed such newer activities as the scouts and men's clubs and lectures.

It develops, therefore, that despite the small number of social organizations in each community, as shown in Chapter III, and therefore, the lack of competition with secular agencies for the leisure time of the people, the church makes little effort to organize and utilize that time for activities of its own. There were fewer than six subsidiary church organizations for the average industrial village, including Protestant and Catholic, Negro and white churches, as against sixteen for the agricultural villages.[7] The smaller number of organizations in itself is not a sign of weakness. It might mean that there were a few strong groups instead of many weak ones. But this is not the case. There are few organizations because there are few churches, but the organizations, like their parent churches, are not above average strength. Furthermore, they are of the conventional type designed to conform to the accepted thing that churches have done for the last half century. Though, as already shown, a number of social needs are unmet in some of these villages, the church did not as a rule consider that meeting such deficits was a possible part of its service. Similarly, though many of its people lacked educational advantages, classes and special-interest clubs were at a minimum. The sort of program often to be found in urban churches ministering to a working-class group was conspicuous by its absence. There seemed to be slight relationship between the industry and the type of program put on by the church, possibly because the sample of villages was so small. For instance, the slightly lower percentage of southern churches having ladies' aid societies might be due to the employment of women in the textile mills but it might also be due to other causes. Most of the churches in the New England textile villages studied had such organizations.

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[6] Activities of Roman Catholic churches are not included in this count because the difference in terminology made it impossible to compare all churches on the same basis. In the main, the Catholic churches are responsible for a larger social program than the Protestant although it is frequently conducted through agencies other than the church itself.

In the main then the program of a great majority of these churches, regardless of regional location, was more meagre than that of the agricultural village church. It resembled instead the church of the open country, which, since the days of the circuit-rider, has made a virtue of its former necessity and considered as "spiritual and properly religious" only those few activities that it was able to sustain.

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[7] Sunday schools are excluded from the count in both groups of villages. Negro church organizations are not counted in the agricultural village average but are in the industrial.

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL PROGRAM

The church school, always known in these villages as the Sunday school, carries on, of course, a good share of the program of church work. In most cases it is open every Sunday even in churches that do not have a weekly service. Especially in the South these schools have followed the type of organization suggested by the state and denominational councils of religious education. In this region from one-half to two-thirds of the schools had organized classes for the various age- and sex-groups, with adult classes leading. In the other regions from one-fifth to one-third of the schools were so organized. In all regions about one-third of the schools held daily vacation bible schools for from two to four weeks, a most useful service. More than one-half the southern schools and about one-fourth of the others had classes for training teachers, who were put through a simple course once a week for several months. All but one of the southern schools but only one-fourth of the rest conducted a library. Many of these libraries were filled with juvenile books and with the novels of past decades often secured from book collections among the members of city churches. One Rhode Island church, with a library of nearly 1,500 well-selected volumes open to the public, was an exception to this generalization. A few had utilized loan libraries from some state agency.

TWO SOUTHERN CHURCHES

An examination of several varying situations in the various regions illustrates the functioning of the church program in these communities.

Thus in a model textile mill village in the South there were four churches, one for the Negroes, one of the Holiness type and two, of about 400 members each, belonging to old-line denominations. These two large churches were carrying on the traditional program in able fashion. Their Sunday schools were well organized, including a vacation Bible school, and were well attended. There were young people's societies for testimony and the discussion of a pre-determined list of religious problems. The churches had numerous social gatherings and a considerable amount of inter-church attendance upon these was reported, especially after the two churches, upon the suggestion of the industry, began to coöperate to some extent. Responsibility was given to the young people and they were trained in leadership. The leadership of the school-teachers and that of the company's educational and health directors was also available. These churches were nearly self-supporting and probably could dispense with the small grant each received from the industry. Ninety per cent. of the people in the village were church-members, a very high ratio.

AN EXAMPLE OF SOCIAL SERVICE

In some of the mid-western villages, notably in Ohio, one or two of the denominations have been for some time thoroughly committed to a social-service program. A number of villages had the services of a so-called community worker, usually supported from home-mission funds. Frequently the industry offers one of its houses for the worker's use. In one such village, typical of others, the program included Sunday school, a kindergarten for two hours on five mornings each week, a story hour for first-grade boys and girls on Mondays and a similar period for the second-graders on Tuesdays, both of which also included singing and memorizing Bible verses. One night a week the girls from twelve to eighteen years of age met for mission study and occasionally to cook. The comparable boys' group played games, read or did manual work. The junior boys and girls also each had a meeting one afternoon a week for manual work. Special programs were worked out for holidays and there was a vacation Bible school for a month each summer in the schoolhouse. A level piece of ground near the worker's house was used in summer as a playground.

SUCCESSFUL NEW ENGLAND CHURCH

Perhaps the best all-round piece of work was found in Russell, Mass., where an undenominational community church has sole responsibility for all Protestants. Its well-organized school and the daily vacation Bible school use the most modern techniques in their program of religious education. The young people's societies have won county and state-wide recognition. The church has a good chorus choir and orchestra, general social events, pageants, lectures, concerts and special-interest activities for all age- and sex-groups. The program of pastoral work is unexcelled. In addition, the pastor is secretary of a community club whose recreational program has received much favorable mention in the urban and farm press of the region.

The large Roman Catholic churches were also highly efficient in the care of their people. Where present the parochial school helped in the ministry to the young people as did also the Knights of Columbus. But the larger churches also had a few organizations for men and women and conducted social events, especially dances and suppers.

For the most part, however, as the check list of activities showed, the preaching and evangelistic functions of the Protestant churches are not only the heart of the church program but they are the program.

THE EVANGELISTIC EMPHASIS

Not only among all the churches of the emotional sects but also among many of the regular denominations the emphasis was upon evangelism conducted as in the day of the pioneer. A field-worker thus described a prayer-meeting in a Methodist church attended by seven adults, two adolescents and fifteen children:

> After singing several hymns the preacher kneeled and called on one woman after the other to lead in prayer. They prayed in high-pitched passionate tones that their neighbors who sat "unconcerned" at home be "tormented" until they saw the necessity of attending this protracted meeting. At intervals the preacher would let forth uncanny, ghastly "Amens," "So we ask it God," etc.

Another meeting on a Sunday was an all-day affair with many non-members in attendance. There was constant coming and going. In the service emphasis was laid upon loud and emotional prayer for the unsaved. Much of the testimony told of poverty, lack of food and the loss of friends who would have nothing to do with "the saved." In more than one service it seemed as if these testimonies proved an emotional outlet for all the tensions and grudges of the people.

One woman testified that she was "sure glad" she was going to heaven because in heaven there would be no taxes, no rent to pay, no disagreeable neighbors and "Thank God, no house-cleaning!" She was very dramatic and seemed to be enjoying herself immensely. A man said he had been helping his wife with the washing all day at home, and they were all torn up with house-cleaning—but he thanked God that he had been saved so he could come to church in the evening where he could get along with God even if he couldn't with his wife.

In the churches of the wilder sects the atmosphere of the services was even more informal. A blind man told of his struggles with his sinful wife who refused to be converted. He was glad that she was going to burn in hell while he would have "all he wanted to eat in Heaven." To his great joy the banjo-player selected, "I'll be Standing at the Station with my Ticket in my Hand, 'cause I'm Going Back with Jesus when He Comes." The congregation sang verse after verse with gusto. A woman with a fretful baby in her arms prayed for full salvation so that she might be sure of a "perfect title to a lot in Canaan's land where there would be no more rent to pay, no more taxes, and please Jesus take her soon from this life on earth where there was nothing but sin, sorrow and house-cleaning."

The assembly burst into "If you get discouraged, just telephone to Jesus on the Royal Telephone."

In another community distraught by racial discrimination and embittered by the manoeuvres of various social cliques, the fundamental problem of the church was "whether one can be quietly converted or had to shout to evince sincerity." This issue was locally interpreted as the modernist-fundamentalist controversy.

THE CHURCH AND CLASS DISTINCTIONS

It soon becomes apparent in studying the churches of these villages that whatever the creedal differences there are also social differences of real importance among them. The outstanding example of this is in the southern villages as already hinted in Chapter III. In a number of the communities studied the Methodists and Baptists had two churches, one for the "mill village," the other for the townspeople. In several villages where there were ministerial associations the pastors of the mill churches were not included in the membership of the association because "their problems are so different from ours," as "town" ministers put it. The mill-workers are very tenacious of the privilege of having churches of their own. Miss Herring records a number of instances in which mill-workers who were attending "town" churches for the lack of any other kind finally withdrew and built churches of their own in the village part of the same community.[8] A denominational executive reported as typical of this attitude the case of a small mill village that had been surrounded by a growing suburban community. The only denomination at work in this community erected a fine, new church; but the mill employees would not desert the one-room chapel that had served them, and the denomination was compelled to operate both buildings.

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[8] Cf. Herring, Harriet L., *Welfare Work in Mill Villages* (University of North Carolina Press, 1929), Ch. V. Miss Herring found a number of churches in North Carolina where mill and country people worshipped together.

One of the clearest and most interesting cases of this class-consciousness in the mill-workers was found in a southern village of about 500 population. Both its churches are of the same denomination and are served by the same minister, something not always possible for a minister when there are social differences between the members of the two churches. The community has no other economic activity than the mill. One of the churches serves virtually all the 200 persons who are not mill-hands. The other church serves this latter group but enlists barely half of them in its activities. The first congregation has a new building described as "one of the finest rural churches in the state." The other congregation is located about a mile away in a frame structure that needs both paint and repairs. Harmonious as are the relations between the mill executives and foremen, on the one hand, and the wage-earners on the other, those relations seem to cease at the doors of the church, or at any rate at the doors of the wealthier church. Between the two congregations is an almost complete social barrier, raised by the wage-earners themselves. They would be welcomed in the larger church. Special efforts were made at the annual revival last year to induce them to come. There was a woman evangelist, "the best I've ever heard," according to the pastor, and he made a special appeal to his wage-earner congregation to attend the services; "but they wouldn't come; and if they won't come to hear a woman preacher, they won't come for anything."

In another community the pastor of the "town" church made a house-to-house canvass of the mill village. He was told that the operatives would not be welcomed in the "town" churches. This was denied by the townspeople, to which leaders among the mill-hands replied, "that's good talk but they don't mean it." It developed that "once upon a time, nobody knows just when," there had been a joint service and a deacon in the town church had suggested that the mill-people sit on one, the townspeople on the other, side of the church. This alleged incident has become part of the tradition of the mill section of the community and its people have never since entered a town church.

The social cleavages within the mill village also affect its churches. Asked, "What church is that?" a young man replied in all seriousness, "That's the bosses' church." In more than one village it was explained that one church was attended by the superintendent, school-teachers, bosses and foremen, and another was the workers' church. The cleavage between the "nigh" and "yon" sides of the village noted in Chapter III also carried over into the church life. The people on the "yon" side attended the Holiness church which was located either on their side or just beyond the boundaries of the village where the mill superintendent would have no authority to interfere if he deemed the enthusiasm of the worshippers to be running too high.

But divisions among the churches on social rather than doctrinal lines was not confined to the South. In one Pennsylvania community the railroad workers, proprietors of small businesses and clerks were in one church; the mine-owners, the bigger business men, bankers and professional people in another; the coal-miners in another; and the village's unskilled labor for the most part was in a fourth. This sort of thing occurred again and again in the middle-western and Middle Atlantic villages. The unskilled laborers and poorer people were almost without exception found in the churches of the emotional sects. This was less so in New England than elsewhere save that here as elsewhere there were divisions on racial grounds. Even in New England there were some villages in which one church was charged by all the others as being aristocratic.

AN EXAMPLE FROM THE MIDDLE WEST

The situation found in one average-sized mid-western village illustrates quite well both the social divisions separating the churches and the limitations of the program sponsored by the church. Originally one denomination had sole responsibility for the village, but as sometimes happens in such situations the administrative officers, feeling that it was safe for their denomination, sent ministers who were either too old to stand the strenuous life of a mining center or too young to conduct the annual revivals for the reconversion of backsliders. During the war came an excellent man, well-trained and popular who did much to lift the church out of the mire; but once his merit was recognized he was sent to a large city. His successors are locally described as "weak, illiterate men of no training," and the support of the church fell chiefly upon the merchant class. Finally, the friend of a revivalist was secured and appointed to the charge. He sought the aid of a woman evangelist, "Little Miriam." Men attended the revival in numbers, but it developed that once converted in the church auditorium they were initiated into the Ku Klux Klan in its basement.

The new minister decided to make the church and Klan supreme in the community. The issue of morals and prohibition was raised and a campaign was begun to close the pool-rooms where liquor was sold. The Town Council was captured and an ordinance passed closing all pool-rooms at ten o'clock each evening and on Sundays. The miners' union suddenly awoke to the fact that for once the church was a force to be reckoned with. Some of their own members had even joined the Klan. They were ordered to withdraw upon pain of expulsion from the union, and a boycott was initiated against stores owned by "the church-Ku-Kluxers." The attitude of the union was emphasized by dropping concrete blocks from the roofs of the pool-rooms upon the church people one Sunday night as the congregation was going home. At this point the pastor left town.

His successor decided upon another revival as the first step in the program and announced that to be on the safe side every member would have to be "saved" again. At this juncture a former member of the congregation proclaimed that he had a call to preach and started an Assembly of God Church. The "tongue-speaking" with which its charter members became endowed drew crowds though not many converts. The old-line denominational church was reduced again to fifteen "substantial citizens" of whom half a dozen were men. Their minister was most unpopular and the church might have died but for the 1928 presidential campaign, during which time the women held prayer-meetings "for the cause of God and Herbert

Hoover." In this activity the new Assembly of God would not join. They remembered the concrete blocks. The Catholic church, not started until 1925, despite the fact that two-thirds of the population of 1,500 originated in Catholic countries, had meanwhile enlisted only eight families.

Here then was a village in which a single church without even Catholic competition and in the face of the repeated failure of the conventional program, continued to adhere to that program, to think no new thoughts. It failed to overcome the social cleavage between the southern European and native-born group. In addition there are obvious considerations of administrative nature, of ministerial leadership, and of the reaction of the people to the program, all matters that will be considered in later chapters.

In the main, added to whatever creedal differences exist, the churches in industrial villages are separated by social and economic differences to a far greater degree than are those in agricultural villages. This was locally recognized in more than half of the communities studied. This fact doubtless is one of the reasons why the assignment of agricultural territory to the service of an industrial village church has rarely been effective, even though farmers' churches and those of industrial workers sometimes can be combined on the same circuit. Another reason making it difficult to link rural and industrial churches grows out of the superiority complex of the country people as over against the industrialists. Typical of this was one Ohio group, loyal to its church, which as a group, though not as a church, fought taxes for the improvement of the "hunky school," and for the rebuilding of the road used by the industrialists to get out to the state highway.

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

This general survey of the status and program of the church in the industrial village reveals that despite the problems shown to exist, the church has made but slight adaptation of its program to the industrial situation. This is true in more than four-fifths of the churches. The church has expected that its preaching service, choir, Sunday school, ladies' aid, young people's society and one or two other activities would suffice, a fact which lends importance to the study of the support of the church's program by the people in a later chapter.

This attitude on the part of the local churches is reflected by the administrative officers. One of the southern denominations with thousands of congregations in textile communities has adopted a score-card to help its churches. This score-card gives most of its credits for the efficient functioning of the accepted procedures of church life. Fourteen points are given on finance, of which four are allotted for a weekly collection and six for paying in full all denominational quotas and claims. Fourteen points are given for a missionary program which includes two items relating to the support of missions and of a woman's missionary society. Evangelism conducted according to this program means holding "special efforts at special times," having a "personal workers' band," keeping a constituency roll, carrying evangelism into the Sunday school and setting a definite goal as to the number of accessions to membership. These activities are worth nearly one-fifth of the perfect 100 per cent. score.

Other items on this program concern church attendance and the Sunday school. Six points are given if the church carries through a church and community survey and three more if the results are "analyzed and indexed." Coöperation with the "extra-church program" and the possession of a community-service council or committee brings the church nine points nearer the goal.

This program obviously is concerned with keeping the long-used machinery running smoothly. There is no word in it of the social creed of the churches, with its concern over hours of labor, working conditions, a living wage, provision for old age, the right of collective bargaining, the toil of women and the like. Nor does the Christian social-service work in Ohio, mentioned earlier in the chapter, come very much nearer grappling with the large spiritual implications of industrial issues. It teaches Johnny to wash his hands and brush his teeth. It furnishes reading-rooms and distributes clothing and relief to the destitute. It avoids all controversies and in most communities was praised on all sides. Probably this is all that it can do. The social creed of the churches probably cannot be made effective in a single community through the influence of the local church.

This situation may not continue. One result of the southern textile strikes has been the passage of resolutions by several district or state ecclesiastical units of both the large indigenous denominations, calling for reforms such as banning night work for women, shortening hours and raising wages, and urging a federal study of the entire textile industry. When discussions of this sort reach these minor units there is much more likelihood that the social creed of the churches will become a matter of practical interest. But in general, at the time of the study, the administration of churches in industrial villages by the denominational overhead appeared weak and faltering. State or district officers were perplexed because it did not fit into the mold of the average rural or average urban church. The accepted techniques did not work. Some administrators, therefore, in effect abandoned industrial village churches to their own devices. If they could not measure up, they could not receive good ministers or organizational assistance. Others would have helped if they knew how but the problem was too different from the normal. Even national administration was none too sure. Rural departments dealt with farmers' churches and those in farmers' towns. Industrial village churches were inconvenient and puzzling variants committed to rural leaders purely because of the size of the community. With one or two notable exceptions urban administrators found them equally baffling since it was difficult to scale down the successful programs of large-city churches to fit the smaller, more poorly manned institutions of the industrial village.

Because of this inefficient overhead administration local churches are without a policy when an industrial conflict comes, and what a given church does is likely to depend upon the action of its minister. This question will, therefore, be taken up in connection with the discussion of leadership.

A number of explanations suggest themselves for the meagre programs offered by the general run of the churches. For one thing many of the churches are too small. One-third of all had fewer than fifty members and another one-fifth had between fifty and 100. For the Protestant churches alone nearly three-fifths had fewer than 100 members and only about one-sixth more than 200.[9] Naturally, therefore, the equipment such small groups can procure is not extensive. About one-seventh had no church building but used a rented hall or store. Of those having a building, most were of but one room. Less than two-fifths had a kitchen or social room. Less than one-half had a stereopticon. Only three had a community-house and only four a moving-picture machine.

In some places there was no necessity for the church to conduct more than its traditional program because of the elaborate social organizations under company auspices such as were noted in Chapter III. This explanation applies, however, to only a few communities. For the most part, as was pointed out earlier in the chapter, the church has less competition for the time of its constituents than has the church of the agricultural community or the city. The small number of social organizations in these villages has already been noted, and especially among the young people and in communities where the women cannot be employed, the church has an almost clear field for service but one which in most cases it has not entered.

Probably, therefore, even more important explanations of the small number of activities conducted by the average industrial village church concern such questions as the hold the church has on its constituency, the support that it receives and the quality of its leadership.

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[9] As Appendix Table 12 shows, proportionately rather more of the agricultural than of the industrial village churches fell in the higher membership brackets, despite the larger Catholic churches in the industrial villages. Of the Protestant churches alone, proportionately half again as many agricultural village churches exceed 200 members as churches in rural industrial communities.

Chapter VII

THE RESPONSE TO THE CHURCH'S PROGRAM

The tenacity with which the church has held to its traditional program in industrial villages raises the question as to the response that the people make to what the church offers.

Proportion of Population in Church

One of the tests of the effectiveness of the church is the proportion of the population it enrolls. In this respect the industrial villages make a fairly good showing thanks to the Catholic church-membership, which, as the last chapter showed, is almost half the total. All told 36.9 per cent. of the population of the rural-industrial villages is enrolled in church. This compares with 46.6 per cent. for the United States as a whole as shown by the 1926 Religious Census, and is about the same ratio as that of the agricultural villages. The industrial village exceeds the national average for the proportion of all rural people in church in 1920 which the Institute of Social and Religious Research found to be barely one-fifth of the total.

Marked regional variations were found in the proportion of church-members to population. The Middle West was the lowest of all regions, with barely one-sixth of the population in its churches. In the South and New England there were just under two-fifths, the latter region being the only one in which Catholicism is strong and which at the same time ranks low in the proportion of the population on the church rolls. The high ranking regions are the Middle Atlantic and the Far West, where, as Table XIII in the last chapter showed, there is a high proportion of Catholics in the church-membership.[1] Table XIV gives the details of these regional comparisons.

TABLE XIV—PROPORTION OF RESIDENT CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP TO POPULATION IN INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES (ALL CHURCHES)

Region	Number of Communities	Population	Resident Church-Members	
			Number	Per Cent. of Pop.
All Regions	69	81,534	30,085	36.9
Middle Atlantic	8	11,072	5,347	48.3
South	10	18,500	7,134	38.6
Middle West	22	23,584	3,966	16.8
West	17	13,966	8,372	59.8
New England	12	14,412	5,266	36.5

ACTIVE MEMBERS

The churches, especially the Protestant churches, in the rural-industrial communities are distinctly weaker than those in agricultural villages in the proportion of active members on the total roll. The proportion of active Protestant members is barely three-fifths of the total Protestant enrollment in the industrial villages studied, but nearly three-fourths in the agricultural—a consideration which goes far to counterbalance the near parity of the two groups of villages with respect to the proportion of the population in church. The full situation in regard to this item by regions, together with the comparison with agricultural villages, is contained in Table XV.

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[1] The case of the Far West is probably somewhat a-typical. The seventeen villages surveyed were all located in a large county with an area of 1,500 square miles. The Catholic Church operates in this county on the basis of a single or "larger" parish. Thirty-five and seven-tenths per cent. of the population are foreign-born or of foreign stock and from nationalities traditionally Catholic.

TABLE XV—ACTIVE, INACTIVE AND NON-RESIDENT MEMBERSHIP IN WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

REGION	PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH-MEMBERS					
	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES			AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES		
	Active	In-active	Non-Resident	Active	In-active	Non-Resident
All Regions	62.3	22.1	15.6	73.4	16.0	10.6
Middle Atlantic	71.8	16.4	11.8	71.9	16.5	11.6
South	56.4	26.7	16.9	67.6	19.3	13.1
Middle West	55.1	29.4	15.5	79.4	11.9	8.7
West	84.1	4.4	11.5	68.7	21.4	9.9
New England	66.5	15.4	18.1	*	*	*

* No agricultural villages studied in New England.

The reasons for the low proportion of resident church-members are probably inherent in the industrial situation. Non-resident church-members, who comprise nearly one-sixth of the total as against one-tenth in the agricultural villages, are numerous because of two factors, labor turnover and the migration of members to other places in search of work during the depression.

These two causes were not equally operative in all regions. Where there was reasonably steady work, it was the general testimony that the church-members were a more stable element in the population than non-church-members, more of them, for instance, owning their own homes. But even in villages where employment was fairly steady ministers complained of the disturbing effect of the labor turnover upon their work. Where work was scarce, as in the soft-coal fields, it was the church-members who left the community early in an effort to find employment for the sake of their families. Chapter III has amply shown the social effects of these two forces, particularly in communities suffering from a depression or experiencing long-drawn-out strikes.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CHURCH

The high proportion of inactive resident members, more than one-fourth of the resident roll, is more difficult to account for.[2] That one resident member out of every four in the Protestant churches has practically ceased to function would seem to indicate a failure on the part of the church to furnish a sufficiently compelling program or qualified leadership, especially in view of the additional fact that more than one-third of the population over ten years of age have no connection with the church at all.

The people, whether those outside the church or its inactive members, did not criticize the church to any extent. The strictures against it were mild and hackneyed. "The church is the rich man's organization," "The church is only for the rich and society: it does nothing for the people's welfare," were comments heard from those who felt the poor man's church of the Holiness type "beneath them." A different point of view on the relation of the church to wealth—"The laborer thinks more of his church than the rich man, but he's too tired to go"—was expressed both in the southern textile villages and in several other communities where hours were long.

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[2] "Active member" is defined by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, for the purpose of its studies, as one who contributes to the church and attends at least occasionally.

These and other comments showed a recognition of the social differences in the memberships of the various churches in many of the communities. The social cleavages noted applied also as between church-members and non-church-members. A frequent comment was, "The church crowd think they're better than the rest of us," or less frequently, "The church folks are stuck-up." A fairly common opinion was also that "the church should quit finding fault and do something"—just what, the critics did not indicate.

The meaning of this fault-finding in specific issues was made clear in two communities by young men whose statements were in effect: "I'll put the church first if the church will let me put baseball second. The church is only interested in things that mustn't be done." This type of comment was quite frequent in all regions except the South. Again and again employees emphasized the fact that the "church," represented of course by the local branches of that institution, was not enough interested in life. On the other hand, in two villages the minister was criticized as sharply by labor as by the management for attempting to solve a local industrial difficulty. Union officials stated that the church was too weak and futile a thing for its representative to make such an attempt. They felt that by its long silence it had forfeited the right to speak. The management warned the minister to confine his attention to things spiritual.

One minister was much disappointed because his young people's society failed to enlist great interest in the church. He had led the discussions along the line of his own interests, covering the cost and prevention of war, the Kellogg Pact and similar subjects. His young people confided to the field-worker that they "liked singing best," and that it did not "make much difference what the program was as long as the girl or the boy friend was present." This was by no means an isolated instance of a minister making the wrong approach to the problem of building a program for the church or a subsidiary organization. Frequently the program evolved expressed the minister's own interests to the exclusion of any attempt to find out what the group concerned was interested in.

Sheer indifference seemed to characterize the attitude to the church of a majority of the people in these villages. "Oh, the church is a good enough thing but it just isn't interesting; I'd rather go somewhere," was one comment often repeated in different forms. This possibility of getting away from their surroundings was spoken of time and time again by management and operatives, and to a less extent by ministers, in reply to the question as to why more people were not connected with the church. "It's due to the automobile," they said. "Those who have cars go to visit their relatives and those who have relatives with cars have them come to visit them."

In many communities the people willingly admitted that "having some churches was a good thing." "You wouldn't want to live in a place without one," more than one field-worker was told in the southern, Middle

Atlantic and New England regions. But why they held this article of faith few of the people could tell. They appeared to have inherited a reverence for the institution of the church as such that persisted even after active loyalty had ceased, but they had never questioned why their reverent attitude should persist, nor, so far as one could see, were the fortunes of the local church greatly benefited by this instinctive, but distant, reverence.

In other villages the popular attitude to the church was distinctly hostile. As a result of a house-to-house religious census one minister described the attitude of the workers toward the church as "one of indifference bordering on scorn." In one of the middle-western states union officials expressed both scorn and distrust. "Sister," they told the field-worker, "you've come to the wrong place. No 'typical' mining village has a church. The church doesn't count much here." It was in this state that workers soliciting funds for the support of their church were frequently told, "You'd better shut up your church. It does more harm than good."

In the coal-fields of West Virginia, on the other hand, among the native stock, though the support of the church and its program was scanty, the attitude of the people was favorable to the institution. In the anthracite field, surveyors reported: "Even the members of the Communist National Mine Workers' Union will say, 'We do not inquire if our brothers go to church. We inquire, which church do you go to?' "

In this area the Catholic population had not drifted away from the influence of the church and the authority of the older generation was still strong. As one miner ruefully said, "If I do not go to church my mother will not give me food. Therefore I go to church." Curiously enough, however, more cases of graft in the administration of both public and union affairs, many of which have become matters of court action, were found in this church-going area than anywhere else in the study.

THE CATHOLIC SITUATION

These two small areas represented the only exceptions outside the South to the general situation noted, a situation which even the Roman and Greek Catholic churches did not wholely escape despite their excellent statistical record as compared with that of the Protestant churches. As in the Institute's study of "Immigrant Farmers and Their Children," a number of communities were found in which Catholicism had failed to hold the allegiance of peoples from Catholic countries, especially Italians and non-Polish Slavs. By the local people this condition was often ascribed to the desire of the foreigners, and especially their children, to be considered American. Membership in a foreign-language Catholic church seemed to be a chain binding them to a life they had renounced.

This factor was admitted by several priests. "The desire to gain the approval of the American group makes the foreigner copy the American attitude toward the church," was the way one of them put it. But they advanced still other explanations for the phenomenon. One was that the clergy in the Catholic countries had done their work of religious education carelessly because they had to compete neither with another church nor with a materialistic civilization. The whole atmosphere of the nation and community sustains the church in these countries and the priests have counted upon it. They have not drilled their people as carefully in the fundamentals of religion as would be desirable or as is necessary to save them from falling easily a prey to the disintegrating forces existing in America "which has never really appreciated the essence of religion."

A second explanation was that the foreigner who has been progressive enough to break with his home community and land and come to America is ambitious to get ahead. Here he works shorter hours than at home. He has used his spare time, including Sundays, either to farm some land for himself or to work at income-producing odd jobs. To get ahead and get rich, under the stimulus of American conditions, has come to be of more importance than attendance upon the services of the church.

Finally, some of the priests aver that the Catholic Church has made administrative blunders in locating its churches. It has expected that its members would be willing to travel several miles to church, perhaps even to another community. A single church has therefore been expected to serve a group of villages, but in Europe these immigrants had been used to having churches close at hand and a walk of several miles to attend mass was unthinkable. The circuit system sometimes adopted as an alternative was no better unless the priest in charge could make each church every Sunday. Otherwise the church itself became responsible for breaking the Sabbath.

Support from Men and Young People

The church in the industrial village does not reach all age- and sex-groups equally well. It fails particularly with men. Despite the fact that more than one-half the population in the industrial villages are males, the male membership of all churches is barely two-fifths and that of the Protestant churches is slightly less than two-fifths of the total. This shows that even the Catholic churches have been less successful than usual with men. By contrast, in the agricultural villages, where the ratio of males to females in the population is only 94 to 100, exactly two-fifths of the church-members are males. The agricultural village church, therefore, does a relatively better job in reaching men than does the church in the rural-industrial community.

TABLE XVI—SEX OF CHURCH-MEMBERS (ALL CHURCHES)*

REGION	TOTAL MEMBERS	PER CENT. MALES				PER CENT. FEMALES			
		INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES			AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES Total	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES			AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES Total
		Under 21	Over 21	Total		Under 21	Over 21	Total	
All Regions.....	22,219	11.3	31.1	42.4	40.0	14.0	43.6	57.6	60.0
Middle Atlantic..	5,539	14.4	31.1	45.5	39.6	16.6	37.9	54.5	60.4
South..........	6,833	10.1	30.4	40.5	43.2	16.0	43.5	59.5	56.8
Middle West....	4,154	13.9	30.8	44.7	39.6	13.1	42.2	55.3	60.4
West...........	963	8.7	31.5	40.2	37.7	12.0	47.8	59.8	62.3
New England...	4,730	7.5	32.4	39.9	†	9.1	51.0	60.1	†

* For Protestant churches only see Appendix Table 13.
† No agricultural villages studied in New England.

The churches in the two types of villages are more nearly on a par in their enlistment of the young people. Those between the ages of ten and twenty years made up 20 per cent. of the population of the industrial and 23.9 per cent. of the population of agricultural villages. The churches in the first group had secured 25.3 per cent. of their membership in this age-group; those in the agricultural village 22.3 per cent. If the Catholic figures be deducted, the proportion of those from ten to twenty years of age in the industrial village church is 23.6 per cent. The detailed regional comparisons on these last two measurements of the support accorded to the church are to be found in Table XVI.

SUCCESS OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

In one respect the industrial villages fulfill the expectation created by the Census figures on the age-distribution of the population. In Chapter I it was stated that the high proportion of children should make for good-sized Sunday schools, and this is the case. Nearly all the industrial village churches have Sunday schools as against only 91 per cent. in the agricultural villages. Furthermore, the average enrollment of the schools of white Protestant churches in the rural-industrial communities was 138 as against 116 in the

TABLE XVII—SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND ATTENDANCE (WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES)

Region	Number of Schools*	Average Enrollment	Average Attendance	Per Cent. of Attendance
All Regions	109	138	89	64.6
Middle Atlantic	20	152	98	64.8
South	36	180	120	66.4
Middle West	29	115	76	65.9
West	4	169	85	50.6
New England	20	75	45	59.7

* Of the 114 churches studied 3 had no Sunday schools and 2 were unable to furnish data.

agricultural villages. These latter schools, however, did secure a better average attendance, 69.6 per cent. as against 64.6 per cent. in the industrial villages.

CHURCH ATTENDANCE

The measurement of interest and support expressed by attendance can be applied to the total program of the church as well as to any one feature of that program. In several of its previous surveys the Institute has used this measurement of support. It can be applied either on the basis of average monthly attendance for each person in the population or for each resident church-member. On neither of these bases does the church in the industrial village make as good a showing as that in the agricultural community. The average monthly attendance per person is little more than half that in the farmer's town. On the per-member basis church attendance in the industrial village is

TABLE XVIII—ATTENDANCE INTEREST (ALL CHURCHES)

Region	Average Monthly Attendance			
	Per Inhabitant		Per Resident Member	
	Industrial Villages	Agricultural Villages	Industrial Villages	Agricultural Villages
All Regions..........	1.2	2.3	3.2	4.9
Middle Atlantic......	2.1	2.1	4.3	3.7
South................	1.6	2.3	4.2	3.2
Middle West..........	0.7	3.0	4.2	6.0
West.................	0.8	1.6	1.3	4.7
New England..........	1.2	*	3.2	*

* No agricultural villages studied in New England.

almost a third less than in the agricultural. On this latter basis, however, there is considerable variation among the regions. Excellent Roman Catholic attendance in the Middle Atlantic states and a greater frequency of services in the South account for a greater per-member time-investment in these two regions in the industrial as compared with the agricultural villages. The detailed figures are shown in Table XVIII.

SUMMARY

It is a blurred and confused picture that this array of data brings out. The facts are clearer than the explanations. It is quite apparent that the average church in the industrial village is putting on a program which means something to a considerable minority of the population. At the same time this program attracts fewer people, and especially fewer men, than does the church in the nation as a whole or in agricultural villages. The reasons advanced for this state of affairs are many and a number of them have only local importance, such as accusations against the character of the church officers. Others are regional or national in their implications. The shifting character of the population, the long hours that leave the people tired and listless, and the night shift are problems with which the southern churches must especially, though not exclusively, grapple. Class distinctions and social cleavages among the churches and between the churched and the non-churched, the habit of automobiling on Sunday, the poverty of certain groups, the failure of the church to be interested in the present as well as the future life, the uninteresting program, modeled so largely on that which even progressive open-country churches are abandoning, and the weakness and lack of promise of the institution sponsoring this program were reasons that had more general application in those communities in which the churches had been unsuccessful.

The fact that there were successful churches in some of the villages studied raises again the question of the sort of leadership which the church had, just as the evident lack of general success arouses interest in how the work of the church in industrial villages was financed. These two questions will be discussed in reverse order in the two remaining chapters of this report.

Chapter VIII

THE CHURCH'S SUPPORT

If it were not for outside assistance extended either by the denominations or by the industries there would be even less religious work in industrial villages than there is. The church in the industrial village is more dependent upon outside aid than is any other type of rural church.

This aid was often responsible for the very building of the church. In one case out of three the land on which the church stood had either been given to it or was leased to it by the local industry. In one case out of ten the church building was owned by the corporation and of the remaining 132 buildings, twenty-six, or one-fifth, had received generous assistance from the industry in amounts ranging from $500 to $80,000. Several of these churches had been paid for entirely by the local industry but the usual gifts were between $1,000 and $5,000. The southern textile mills were more likely to contribute in this way than the industries of any other region, although the largest gift was made by a New England concern.[1] In several villages also church services were held in company-owned community-houses so that industry was furnishing or had assisted in the construction of more than one-third of the places of worship. The white Protestant churches were slightly more dependent upon this sort of help than either the Negro Protestant or the Roman Catholic. In addition, the industry often furnished parsonages rent free for pastors, especially in company towns. In a few instances the same courtesy was extended to the church's community-worker. This assistance from the industry was in addition to the aid extended, in the case of most of the buildings of the regular denominations, by denominational church-erection societies or similar agencies.

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[1] Cf. Herring, Harriet L., *Welfare Work in Mill Villages* (University of North Carolina Press, 1929). This study showed that one-fifth of the more than 500 mills studied had built or supplied quarters for the church and three-tenths had paid part of the cost of one or more churches.

CHURCH PROPERTY

The total value of the church property in the sixty-nine villages studied was approximately $2,500,000, one-fifth of which represented the value of the parsonages. In proportion to population this represents a valuation of little more than half that in the agricultural village. The difference reflects the smaller

TABLE XIX—AVERAGE VALUE OF CHURCHES AND PARSONAGES*

REGION	CHURCHES			PARSONAGES		
	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES		AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES		AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES
	Total	Protestant	Total	Total	Protestant	Total
All Regions.........	$13,884	$12,454	$11,937	$5,677	$4,700	$3,841
Middle Atlantic.....	22,396	13,825	16,811	9,333	5,045	4,038
South...............	11,539	13,582	13,691	3,378	4,474	4,219
Middle West........	6,661	5,975	12,189	4,398	4,035	4,027
West................	9,550	13,100	8,721	2,250	2,250	3,149
New England.......	18,432	16,232	†	6,012	5,657	†

* Industrial village figures include 142 church buildings and 77 parsonages, of which 108 churches and 58 parsonages belonged to white Protestant churches.

† No agricultural villages studied in New England.

number of churches in the rural industrial communities. On the other hand, the average value of each church and parsonage was greater in the industrial than in the agricultural village as Table XIX shows. The figures for the Middle West reflect to some extent the low estate of religion in the soft-coal fields and to some extent the properly conservative building program in most places in which there was uncertainty as to the life of the mine and, therefore, of the community.

CHURCH INCOME

The income of the churches of these villages was almost $314,000 in the year preceding the study, or about one-eighth of the capital investment in buildings as against one-sixth in the agricultural villages. Here again outside aid was vital. Although about 85 per cent. of this money came from the people themselves, nearly 30 per cent. of all churches and more than 40 per cent. of the white Protestant churches were aided in their current expense budgets either by denominational home-mission funds or by grants from the industry or by both sources. The average grant from denominational sources was $699, amounting to more than 36 per cent. of the budget of the churches thus aided. The average grant from the industry was $444, or almost one-fifth of the budget of the aided churches. In this aid from the industry coal or light supplied free or at cost, and other assistance that involved no monetary transaction are not included. Contributions of industries to central home-mission treasuries are also omitted from the computation. The detailed figures for home-mission aid and aid from the industries are given in Table XX.

The basis on which industries extended aid varied. In some communities a given proportion of the salary of each pastor was given. In others the annual deficit was met. In a few the gift was at so much for each church-member on the payroll and it was given in lieu of welfare work. In two cases the mill checked off church dues from the employees' pay.

TABLE XX—AID TO CHURCHES FROM INDUSTRY AND FROM HOME-MISSION FUNDS

Region	Total No. of Churches	Home-Mission Aid			Aid from Industry		
		Number Receiving Aid	Average Amount	Per Cent. of Budget	Number Receiving Aid	Average Amount	Per Cent. of Budget
ALL CHURCHES*							
All Regions.......	157	29	$ 699	36.7	27	$444	19.4
Middle Atlantic...	30	2	540	34.8	2	179	9.8†
South............	47	8	531	25.9	12	323	14.1
Middle West......	39	10	1,125	49.8	6	643	23.1
West.............	12	4	460	27.5	1	750	27.0
New England.....	29	5	368	29.5	6	528	11.9
WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES							
All Regions.......	114	27	$ 667	36.2	24	$447	16.2
Middle Atlantic...	20	2	540	34.8	1	179	9.8
South............	38	8	531	25.9	12	323	14.1
Middle West......	29	9	1,028	52.5	4	689	35.1
West.............	5	3	533	25.0	1	750	27.0
New England.....	22	5	368	29.5	6	528	11.9

* Six churches were aided both by the industry and by home-mission funds.
† Per cent. based on 1 Protestant church only: Catholic receipts not available.

The agricultural villages present quite a different situation with respect to home-mission aid. In them only 14 per cent. of the Protestant churches were aided to an average of $350 for each church. There were, of course, practically no grants by industries to agricultural village churches. The country churches in village communities that were helped, about 12 per cent. of this group, received on the average $198. Similarly the Interchurch World Movement surveys showed that about one-fifth of all town-and-country churches were aided to the extent of $216 a year. Much of this aid went to churches in towns of over 2,500 population, so that this last figure is not strictly comparable.

So far as could be determined grants-in-aid played very little part in the enrichment of the program of the aided church. Not until total grants amounted to $800 a year or more did the number of services and activities exceed the average for all churches. Even churches receiving $1,000 or more averaged only 8.8 activities of the twenty-five used as a check list in Chapter V. It is not surprising that many administrators are discouraged by the general situation. One such declared: "In spite of expenditures of large sums of money on industrial churches, they have been losing ground rapidly for the past fifteen years in attendance and support."

Of the unaided churches in the industrial villages one-half were served by part-time, non-resident ministers and one-fifth were churches of the highly emotional, loosely organized type. This means that three-fifths of the old-line Protestant congregations were not self-sustaining when the grants-in-aid from industry and from denominational sources, the contributions toward the housing of the church and its ministers from the same sources, and the help received by add-ing to the industrial village minister's salary through country appointments are all considered. It becomes apparent that organized Protestant religion in industrial villages exists because of pressure and help from outside sources and by the grace of industry. No other phase of rural church activity so far as studied by the Institute has been found to be as inherently weak.

PER-MEMBER CONTRIBUTIONS

There are a number of reasons for this situation. One is the low contributions of the church-members to their organizations. The average gift of $12.45 a member was barely a dollar a month.[2] It compares with an average of $16.89 per member in the agricultural village churches. Even on the basis of resident church-members the record of the industrial villages is not good, totalling $14.74 per member. In every region the per-capita contributions to the churches of the agricultural villages exceed those of the industrial as Table XXI shows. These figures do not include gifts to the Roman Catholic churches. The per-capita contributions of their members were about one-half those of the Protestant organizations but with the much larger memberships and the small number of churches the average church budget was half again as high as that of the Protestant churches.

Of course the low contributions may not be an indication of lack of interest. Rather they may reflect the low wages paid. It is interesting to note that the region of highest per-capita giving, New England, is

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[2] These per capita contributions were swollen in many communities by the generous personal contributions of local mill executives. Often one to three families furnished from one-quarter to one-half of the total budget.

TABLE XXI—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES IN PROTESTANT CHURCHES, FOR INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES

REGION	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES		AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES
	Per Resident Member	Per Member	Per Member
All Regions	$14.74	$12.45	$16.89
Middle Atlantic	13.44	11.85	17.09
South	14.77	12.28	16.33
Middle West	11.19	9.46	17.81
West	14.27	12.54	19.35
New England*	21.02	17.32	†

* Figure does not include an item equal to more than one-fourth of total receipts of all New England churches given by two families to benevolence.

† No agricultural villages were studied in New England.

one in which the family wage is high because of the larger number of women employed in the textile mills. The South stands second in per-member gifts to the church, and while wages in this region are low, as Chapter II showed, the fact that there are more than two employed persons for every family in the villages studied and that the southern industrial village has certain wage equivalents in the form of cheap housing, is doubtless reflected in the giving record of these southern church-members. The industrial villager in this region comes nearer to matching the gifts of the agricultural villager to the church than in any other. The standard of living of both groups, however, is relatively low. The figure for the Middle West clearly reflects the depression which had been gripping most of the communities studied in this area for more than a year prior to the survey.

A second reason for the low per-capita giving to the churches of industrial villages is related to the whole question of job-tenure. The uncertainty and irregularity of employment, described in Chapter III, affect the psychology of the workers. They hesitate to invest heavily in either the church program or the building when they are uncertain of how long they may stay in the community. They will go to a strong church but they hesitate to try to build one up. This psychology affects particularly the problem of the erection of a church edifice and also the attitude toward church work in mining centers when it is known that the supply of the mineral or metal sought is not likely to last beyond a few years.

Other contributing causes for the low rate of per-capita giving are doubtless the meagre program of the church, and the quality of its leadership, both local and administrative. The program has already been discussed, and the question of leadership will be taken up in the next chapter. Lack of modern financial systems did not, apparently, affect the situation, for more than three-fifths of the churches employed the envelope system and one-half had an annual every-member canvass. When the number of emotional sects that do not use such devices is considered this record compares quite favorably with that of the churches in agricultural villages.

CHURCH BUDGETS

It is interesting to note at this point that in the matter of total budget the churches in the industrial villages do not make a bad statistical showing. The average church expended $2,157 during the year prior to the study, of which amount it raised nearly $1,900 itself. The figures for white Protestant churches alone are about $100 lower on each item. In the agricultural villages the average church budget was $2,335, of which all but $45 came from its own membership. This shows what a highly standardized thing the local church is. Its building, program and leadership cost about as much in one rural community as in another. But the 10 per cent. differential between the church budgets in the two types of communities makes for considerable differences in the distribution of that budget. Doubtless also the aid received from outside sources makes some difference. Pastoral service takes more than half of the budget in industrial village churches; in two regions nearly three-fourths. In agricultural villages ministerial services take little more than two-fifths. On the other hand, missionary and benevolent causes secure less than one-fifth of the total contributions to the churches of industrial villages, in two regions one-tenth or less, whereas they command an even one-third of the receipts of the agricultural village churches. Upkeep and other miscellaneous expenses account for the remaining 27.6 per cent. and 24.2 per cent. of these budgets.[3]

THE EFFECT OF OUTSIDE AID

The considerable share which industry has in the support of organized religion in industrial villages raises two questions: first as to the effect on the people and second as to the obligation of the church and its minister to the industry.

With respect to the first issue opinions greatly differ. The industrial commission of one of the southern denominations operating in the Piedmont has gone on record as advocating the payment of half the church budget by the industry. But now and again ministers were found who doubted the wisdom of the extension of the paternalism discussed in Chapter IV into the realm of organized religion.

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[3] For the regional details on budget distribution in industrial villages see Appendix Table 14.

One interesting case of this kind illustrates the point. A southern pastor undertook to raise money for a much-needed addition of Sunday-school rooms to the one-room church. He went, as a matter of course, to the mill first, and the mill undertook to match dollar for dollar whatever was raised by the congregation. The pastor had great difficulty in raising from the congregation $512, a sum which, when doubled by the mill, was insufficient for the building of the two-story annex that he had in mind. Many of those to whom he appealed for money told him frankly that it was the business of the mill to build the annex and they saw no reason they should be called upon. The pastor said that if he had gone to the mill he might very possibly have got from it the balance of the money needed. He felt, however, that the people ought to be taught to do something for themselves, and here was a good time to begin their education. Accordingly he changed his plans, abandoned the idea of an annex and burrowed under the church to build a basement of four rooms. The result is certainly not satisfactory for its purpose, as the pastor recognizes, but he believes it is justified by the moral lesson conveyed. Other inhabitants concurred with the pastor in the opinion that the people "have had too much done for them," and the superintendent of the mill himself was obviously perplexed by the issue.

The very continuance of many of the industrial village churches, unless their congregations become more sturdily self-reliant than they have been in the past, is dependent upon the continued paternal solicitude of the industry for the welfare of its workers. There is no indication that the good will, especially of southern industrialists, will cease in the near future. Even in New England one case was found of a corporation which had been idle for more than a year but which continued to pay its quarterly stipend to the local church. But the logic of events would seem to indicate that it may become necessary to curtail such benevolences to some extent sooner or later. Competition is becoming even keener and dividends in the major industries operating in rural-industrial communities have been so long postponed that searching questions may arise as to actual values received for such expenditures. If that issue emerges it will make all the more vital the problem as to what obligation the church does owe the industry that extends such aid.

Despite the fact that a few churches reserve liberty of action in accepting funds, and despite denials by the executives of the industries involved, there is a well-nigh universal opinion, except in New England, that the aided church is dominated by the industry that helps it.

Outside New England a great majority of those interviewed in more than half the villages alleged that the local company dominated the church. In perhaps half the remaining villages, while the answer to questions on this point was negative, the comment was added, "But the company would dominate the church if it were worth using for its ends, but it's too weak to bother with."

This situation applies particularly in company towns. Said a successful above-the-average pastor in one such community: "You can put this down as fundamental. If the management wants a minister to move, the overhead of his denomination gives him another charge. That puts you in a bad position. You are inclined to compromise unless the issue is clear." Executives in several communities studied admitted dissatisfaction with ministers and were arranging for their call to "another opportunity." One minister had been removed for starting a class on modern social problems. One industrial executive said: "The church is a good thing but sometimes a minister causes trouble." Another claimed he left "hands off" the church, and added by way of proof, "I've never had to fire but two ministers."

The whole issue was clearly raised in a northern community in which the church plant had for some years been used as a meeting place by all organizations in the community. A strike broke out, but the church continued to allow the trade union to meet in its community-house and also permitted relief to be distributed from the building. The mill president summoned the minister and objected. "We paid half the cost of your plant," he said, "and we are contributing to your salary. Can't you do better for us than this?"

It was beyond the scope of this investigation to evaluate the motives that led corporations to aid churches. The cynic has a ready answer for this question. He is convinced that it is the determination to control every community institution, even the church, that actuates every contribution to churches by local industries. The matter cannot be so easily dismissed. Such a motive was avowed by a few executives, as shown above. It was also, as stated, denied by most. Many of these men were sincerely religious. Many of them, especially in the South, regarded such contributions as they made as missionary gifts.

It must be remembered also that the program of most of the churches, as shown in Chapter VI, was of the sort that would appeal to the average employer. The gospel was one of other-worldliness, of the dignity of labor, of patience with and submission to conditions as they were. The average church in the mill village is not Christian enough to need capitalistic control. Perhaps it is gratitude for this fact that motivates the contributions.

Be this as it may, the church in the industrial village has not reached a self-sustaining status and its more meagre program, as compared with the average rural church, is reflected in a slightly lower budget per church.

Chapter IX

THE CHURCH'S LEADERS

Again and again in the preceding chapters it has been found that whatever other factors were responsible for the conditions described, the leadership of these industrial village churches was one of the important elements in the situation. This leadership is of two kinds, lay and clerical. The lay leaders are those who sit upon the church boards, serve on the Sunday-school faculties and officer other activities of the church. The church official boards are, of course, the most important of these groups because they determine the policies of the church.

Occupational Status of Church Officials

These boards are dominated by the employer and mercantile groups of the village. Industrial executives who constituted less than one per cent. of the population comprised nearly 10 per cent. of the memberships of these official boards. Clerks and foremen contributed nearly 20 per cent., and the mercantile class more than 30 per cent. These three groups, amounting in all to less than one-fifth of the population, had nearly three-fifths of the places on these controlling agencies of the local churches. The day laborers had 42.5 per cent. of the 889 members of the official boards. Little variation was found in these figures among the various regions.[1] In other words those who had acquired leadership or economic advantage in the daily task of getting a living had naturally achieved positions of leadership in the religious life of their communities. The importance of this fact is apparent chiefly when the policy of a given church over against the social interpretation of Christianity is involved.

Among the white Protestant churches the tendency for the mercantile and executive groups to dominate the official boards is even more pronounced than among the total group of churches, especially among the leading denominations. The Negro Protestant and the Roman Catholic churches had a larger proportion of hands on their governing bodies than the white Protestant churches. Some of the emotional sects, too, were entirely made up of working-class people, and when regularly organized their official boards perforce reflected this fact.

The distribution of the Sunday-school teachers among these main occupational groups was practically the same as that of the membership of the official boards of the churches.

THE MINISTERS

Important and powerful as these governing bodies of the individual churches are, it is the minister who is looked upon as the leader of his people and who determines in large measure the program of his church. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a study of the ministers met with in the villages studied, 135 in all. Of these one hundred served white Protestant churches, fifteen Negro Protestant, and twenty Roman Catholic churches. It would appear at first glance that with 135 ministers and 157 churches, the industrial villages had measurably attained to the ideal of one church to a minister. Unfortunately the contrary is true. Some of these churches are served by pastors who live elsewhere and have other charges. In fact one-third of the clergymen serving industrial village churches are non-resident, and each of these men has an average of 2.5 churches under his care.

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[1] See Appendix Table 15.

Even those who reside in the villages are not, many of them, free to give their undivided attention to the work of the local church. Each man has an average of two churches in his care. Of course, some of these men were able to give their entire time to one church, and in New England and the Far West the regional average was a church to a minister. Those not so situated were serving on the average three churches each. In addition, many of these ministers, both those with one and those with more churches, had another occupation besides the ministry.

Many studies have demonstrated that the non-resident or part-time minister cannot produce as good results as the resident on full time, yet only 23.5 per cent. of the white Protestant churches have undivided ministerial service.[2] In the agricultural villages the proportion of churches with full-time resident pastors was 42.1 per cent. Here, then, is doubtless one of the reasons for the poor showing of the industrial village church, caused in turn by the small memberships and the difficulty of procuring adequate support.

The fact that, as a rule, the rural people contiguous to an industrial village will not come into its churches, as they will to those of an agricultural village, forces this sharing of pastors so that the salary of the minister may more nearly approximate to a living wage. The psychological barrier that kept farmers from village churches is breaking down in the case of the agricultural village,[3] but in the case of the industrial villages it still exists and probably will for some time to come.

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[2] See Appendix Table 16 for regional variations.

TRAINING OF MINISTERS

In the matter of training, the industrial village ministers did not fall greatly behind those of the agricultural villages. Half of the Protestant clergy had had college and seminary training and one-fifth more had been to college. In the total group, on account of the higher proportion of Roman Catholic clergy in the industrial villages, the proportion of college and seminary trained men was even higher. New England and the Far West were the two regions which made the best showing in this particular.

TRAINING AND PROGRAMS

Training seemed to be associated with more varied programs of activity. Churches with college and seminary trained men averaged nine activities on the check list of twenty-five used in Chapter V, and those with college men, eight. Churches being served by men of less training averaged 5.2.

Inquiry was made to discover whether any of the ministers had received special training for work in industrial communities such as courses in economics, industrial problems, labor policies or kindred subjects. Twenty-three men reported one or more courses along this line and such courses seemed to influence their programs to some degree.[4] Nearly half of these men, for instance, observed Labor Sunday as against one-fourth in the group that had not had such courses.

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[3] Cf. *American Agricultural Villages*, pp. 180-183.

CHURCH STANDARDS FOR MINISTERS

Few of the churches studied gave evidence of having any standards on the basis of which they judged or employed their ministers, except that in New England it seemed to be taken for granted that a minister should have college and seminary training. In the South a minister was expected to be an eloquent preacher and a strong exhorter. In New England pastoral work and ability to direct the activities of the church were more important, granted that in preaching the minister was at least average. Except in these regions few congregations expressed views on the subject of the ministry. One Welsh Presbyterian church, however, stated that their ministers must be persons of whom "the people could be proud, well educated, capable and scholars of the Bible." Some mining communities were more concerned with the marital condition of the minister than with his training. Single men were not welcome, for, as one put it, "the men don't like an unmarried man calling at their homes in their absence."

In some company-owned villages the industry had a decided preference for the untrained minister. "These educated men are too apt to be socialists," said one executive; and a southern mill superintendent remarked, "the church is the back-bone of the community but some ministers cause trouble." This danger did not appear to be very serious however. A number of professional people in these villages agreed in substance with the comment of an Ohioan with considerable experience in industrial villages who declared: "We've never had a preacher who strayed far enough from the usual jumble of pious words to become obnoxious. We have great difficulty here as elsewhere to get a minister who can really give people something to think about or tell them something they don't know. Yet they do crave someone to whom they can listen."

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[4] Most of these courses were taken in college, but three men had had work of this sort in summer schools after entering upon pastorates in industrial villages.

SPECIAL ACTIVITIES OF MINISTERS

In view of the peculiar situation disclosed in these industrial villages an attempt was made to discover whether the ministers altered their program or behavior because of it. Ministers were asked whether or not they did certain specific things such as observe Labor Sunday, hold special service for employees, speak at Labor Day or other labor rallies, coöperate in the welfare plans of the company or of the men, act as arbiter in an industrial dispute or take sides in any way.

It was found that three-tenths of the Protestant and about one-fourth of the Catholic clergy preached a Labor Day sermon. Only one-seventh of the Protestants, however, read the Labor Sunday message of the Federal Council of Churches. Nearly all of these were in New England, which region, together with the Middle Atlantic, accounted for three-fourths of those who observed Labor Sunday in any way. One-fifth of the ministers, half of them in the South, held special services for the employees of the industry. Frequently these services had little social significance and were confessedly an attempt to use a common industrial experience to increase the attendance and offer an opportunity for "preaching the message" to some who seldom heard it. There was general willingness to coöperate with any welfare plans that might exist whether under company, employee or community management, although even in this particular about one-half of the clergymen answered negatively. Two-fifths stated that they had advocated better working conditions at one time or another in their pastorates. Half of those so replying were in the South and one-quarter in New England. This advocacy was sometimes general in speeches or articles of no local significance. Sometimes it was little more than a pious wish that things might be better than they were. Often, however, it was in personal conference with local executives. There seems to be a tradition in the textile industry, perhaps associated with its greater paternalism, which enables ministers to take minor matters of policy and individual workers' or family situations to the executives with freedom.

Not many ministers had been faced with a strike during their industrial village experience, but the great majority of those who had, had attempted to remain strictly neutral, feeling that this was the only possible position for a religious institution drawing its support from the entire community. Two ministers had acted as arbiters in strikes. Another offered his services but was rebuffed by the employees. One had forestalled a strike and won a small wage increase for the operatives. In time of crisis, however, the ministers could do little. During the textile strikes in the South, so far as could be discovered, no minister whose church was on company land spoke for the strikers or opposed in any way the tactics of the mill operator.

MINISTERS AND POLITICS

One other question asked the ministers of these churches was whether they had ever taken part in a political campaign. About one-fourth of the white Protestants but none of Negro Protestant or of the Catholic clergy replied in the affirmative.[5] This activity was found almost exclusively in the Middle West and South. Curiously enough most of those active in politics had not engaged in the other activities listed above.

It develops from the data that the attitude of the ministers as expressed by action or lack of action in these few items having social implications coincides closely with the program of the average church. Both are restricted. Which reflects the influence of the other it is impossible to determine. Probably both are both cause and effect and the situation is the product of interaction.

ATTITUDES OF MINISTERS

The ministers in the villages surveyed could be roughly divided into three groups so far as their attitudes toward the social and religious implications of economic conditions are concerned. A small group was deeply concerned with the problems of the church and industry. A considerable majority recognized neither a problem for the church in connection with economic conditions nor any possible relationship between the two. A third group, also small in number, was content to occupy a position midway between the other two. In the first group were many of the New England ministers, who were also the best educated and whose training had been along broad lines; but in other regions also men were found who had decided to devote themselves for life to the problems of the industrial village. One such was securing a Doctor of Philosophy degree, majoring in labor problems, from a large eastern university.

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[5] Field work of this study began less than three months after the close of the presidential campaign of 1928.

Typical of the in-between-group was a former Y. M. C. A. secretary, now pastor of a well-organized church and something of a leader in civic life. He felt sympathetic toward labor but believed that to strike was like dancing, a cardinal sin. Another in this group, a southerner, speaking of the mill and its village, cautiously remarked that "it would be nice to have some improvements."

Another minister, with a church above the average, who had attempted something in the way of enriching the leisure time of his people, had nevertheless made no effort to analyze the relation between life as he would wish it and the actual life of his people. He said that he knew many of them worked long hours and made a "niggardly living" and that he was sympathetic with them as individuals. He did not, however, advocate better conditions because he thought that this and all kindred questions should be taken up by the industry. Stated in untheological terms he believed that the church and its gospel served more as a means of release and escape from the day-by-day activities than as a means of bringing about understanding between two economic groups or of dealing with the difficulties and non-personal human problems encountered by a group of employees. His, in short, was largely a gospel of "other worldliness" of the type which Washington Gladden and Josiah Strong had begun to assault in the northern urban church a generation ago.

Most of the men in this class, and indeed many in the largest group, recognized that the low wages and long hours were unfortunate, but they saw this misfortune not in terms of the people but in terms of the church. They believed that budgets would be easier to raise if wages were higher and that church attendance would be much better if the people were not so tired after the week's work.

THE CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDE

As indicated, the majority felt there was nothing to be done about such conditions. The questions alluded to earlier in this chapter brought singularly unvarying replies from the majority. "The church's one task is to preach the gospel," field-workers were told again and again. Asked whether they preached a Labor Sunday sermon several ministers replied, "No! I stick to religion." One of these clergymen declared, "I am not interested in industrial conditions. I won't discuss them with my people." Another had written his Master of Arts thesis on "The Relation of Organized Labor to Socialism," but had done so only at the request of his professor who wanted some library research done along that line. He had read nothing since on the subject, and saw no relation between that study and his present responsibilities as pastor of a mill village church nine miles from the scene of one of the strikes of April, 1929, at that time in progress.

Closely akin to this group were some, though not all, of the social workers whose program was described in Chapter V. Some of these had no understanding of the long-drawn-out soft-coal strike which was disrupting the villages in which they worked. One of them maintained that "there's always plenty of work if the men would just go get it." Another characterized the strikers as "shiftless and lazy" and the foreign-born as "dumb." To the latter she sold donated clothing for one, five or ten cents "in order to instill the American spirit." It must be remembered, however, that the program of these workers, not all of whom espoused this attitude, was very popular especially among the children, for whom it was chiefly intended.

As a rule the Catholic priests were more social-minded than the Protestant clergy and belonged in either the liberal or middle-of-the-road group, but not all. One of the priests interviewed declared that industrial conditions were out of his sphere. Two stated that they would not discuss these matters with parishioners and a fourth bitterly attacked the social and industrial program of the National Catholic Welfare Council. His technique was to terrify his congregation into coming to church and to scold them for all misdeeds. Men with these ideas, however, comprised but one-fifth of the total number of priests.

TOILER PREACHERS

Curiously enough, the majority group which believed preaching to be the sole function of the church contained all but one or two of the score of ministers who had been or still were mill-hands or miners. Instead of using their past experience as an aid in dealing sympathetically and understandingly with the problems of their people, as was the case with most of the school-teachers who had come out of a similar environment, these ministers usually concentrated with such fervor on the new-found work that they forgot to make practical applications of Christian ethics to trade-union and other industrial problems. Their gospel was encompassed by explaining the Bible in the light of soul-saving. The industrial situation was taken for granted and considered outside the realm of religion.

This attitude was so general among these former industrial workers that it is possible it may have been due to an "escape mechanism." They had revolted against conditions, but the way out for them had been an escape into a different mode of life. Their aim was to bring this escape to others rather than to face what they considered the hopeless task of changing conditions.

Faced with the lack of response, in the average instance, to the program which they were conducting, as described in Chapter VII, this majority group of ministers never for a moment entertained a thought that their ideas or their methods of approaching religious subjects might be distasteful to the population they wished to serve. While admitting that fatigue might cut down church attendance, they pointed out that people visited or went automobiling on Sunday, and for the most part they placed the blame for whatever measure of indifference to the church existed upon the sinfulness of the people. They accepted as supreme the authority of the church, and believing in the obligation of the people to attend its services, they failed to sense in any large way the spiritual implications of the economic situation.

WHEN STRIKES COME

This attitude was all the more noteworthy because, especially in the South, the people, whenever strikes broke out, appealed for divine aid and justified their actions on scriptural grounds. The Institute did not study communities in which strikes were in active process, since it desired information about the industrial village in normal times. It did, however, study a number of places in which there had been strikes, and field-workers visited Gastonia, Marion and other disturbed centers to learn what they could of the part played by churches and ministers. In addition to information gathered in these places, there was a flood of newspaper comment substantiating the statement made above. One letter to an editor read in part: "Oh, if the spirit of God will only move you to pray you can shake the old walls of B—— Mills. . . . Set the hour and publish it and the good people will join with you and the victory will be ours in His name."

Another wrote his editor: "Oh, how sad! It seems to me some of our people (the mill-owners) have lost the true conception of the ones who are to inherit the kingdom. Oh, we can't do anything to add to the glory of God for He is all glorious, . . . but thanks to God we can do something to help our fellowmen. I had better stop. I hope you can understand." Other letters were full of similar allusions and frequently contained quotations from hymns or religious poetry.

SUNDAY MEETINGS OF TEXTILE STRIKERS

The Sunday meetings of the strikers were in reality religious services and interestingly enough it was the ministers of the emotional sects such as the Holiness and Church of God, who came to the fore, regardless of their sole theological emphasis upon personal salvation. One combined the social gospel with the personal evangelistic appeal in rare fashion. When only a few of his congregation acknowledged having been "saved by the Blood of Christ," he burst out with "You needn't think that this here fighting to get something to wear and eat is gonna get you all to heaven fer it ain't. You've got to be just as good a soldier for the Lord as you are fighting fer a living. Some of you are hot a-standing out there but don't you ferget there's a hotter place than this awaiting them that stays at home and goes to hell." Then reverting to his text, "Will a Man Rob God?" he thundered, "I'd hate to be in the shoes of men I know in this county who are robbing God," a reference which brought profuse applause. In another meeting the Holiness preacher likened the mill-owners to the Pharaoh of Israel's oppression but prayed fervently for the conversion of the young communist organizer who had admitted his atheism. When the Loray, N. C., strike, near Gastonia, was a month old the *Baltimore Sun* carried a column story of a service from which the following is a quotation:

> The strikers today went back to the fundamentals which they brought with them from the mountains. Kneeling on an old store counter, salvaged out of the wreckage of the strikers' headquarters, H. J. Crabtree, minister of the Church of God, prayed for divine

> guidance of the strike. As the old man prayed a group of strikers stood with bowed heads and as he came to the close fully a dozen joined in the "Amen." Brother Crabtree then preached. His text was. "Deliver me, O Lord, from the evil man, preserve me from the violent man." "I call God to witness who has been the violent man in this strike," the preacher said. "But we must bear it. Paul and Silas had to go through with it and today they sit a-singing around the great white throne. In a few days you will be a-singing through the streets of Loray with good wages. God's a poor man's God. Jesus Christ, Himself, was born in an old ox-barn in Bethlehem. He was kicked about, speared about and finally nailed on a cross. And for what? For sin. It's sin that's causing this trouble. Sin of the rich man, the man who thinks he's rich."

Meanwhile the ministerial association of an adjoining county tabled a resolution calling upon the mill-owners to arbitrate the issues on the ground that their "business was to preach the gospel and not to pass resolutions." The leading preacher of the "town" section of one community condoned police brutality in speaking to a field-worker on the ground that "it was necessary if *his* family was to be protected from ignorant mill people." Another echoed the familiar slogan that "communists should go to Russia or the electric chair."

At Marion, N. C., where the tragic shooting of six strikers took place, the minister of the church attended by the superintendent was made a deputy sheriff and was considered one of the strikers' worst enemies. The pastor of the church attended by most of the employees was released because they felt unable to pay his salary. His successor obtained a job in the mill and the church then expelled some of the strike leaders and gave letters to others.[6] This action was given such wide publicity that the minister of a nearby town and an officer of the denomination had the record of the action expunged from the church minutes. The letters to the members, however, were not recalled. Here, too, a Holiness minister befriended the strikers.[7]

A NEW ENGLAND STRIKE

Quite different was the part played by the church in a New England community. Here the minister stood so high in the confidence of the people that when a 5 per cent. wage cut was announced he was invited to attend a meeting of the workers called to consider what action they should take. He advised against a walk-out on the grounds that the employees did not know the mill's side of the cut and that with a weak union and an over-supply of labor they would invite defeat by a premature strike. He advised continuing work under protest, strengthening the union and consultation with the management. The minister himself went to the management and asked for the industry's side of the controversy. The superintendent reminded him of the mill's payment toward his salary but agreed that the minister's primary interest should be neither in money nor in church buildings but in building character and in conditions enabling men to live decently. When a strike finally occurred it was the minister who suggested the way out of the dilemma and secured the reëmployment of all the workers.

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[6] Cf. The *Information Service* of the Federal Council of Churches for December 28, 1929, for a full account of the strike at Marion, N. C., and the part played by the local and national church organizations.

[7] It must be remembered that, while the local church in these few situations did little or nothing, many churches in the region voluntarily sent relief and that the Federal Council of Churches and the Friends Service Committee organized and administered relief at Marion in the fall and winter of 1929-30. It is not without significance that the ministers who supported the strikers without exception served churches which were located off company land and which were drawing no support from the mill in any way.

SUMMARY

It is clear from this discussion that there is no unified policy or point of view among the clergy of industrial villages in dealing with the problems they confront. Most of them lack the training to understand the situation so different from the urban or the typically rural. Some are seeking to apply the principles of social Christianity to a complex and difficult problem. Others try to bring their influence to bear on the non-controversial aspects of social life in industrial villages. A majority are content to fall back upon the traditional and universal approach of the church in America's pre-industrial age, and with this policy a majority of the official board members would doubtless agree. The attitude of the ministers is a reflection of the local church programs already discussed. Their behavior during strikes was also a reflection of the attitudes expressed. Yet these ministers are not satisfied with the results, however they may explain them. They are ineffective, discontented, discouraged, as they admit in their conversation and as they register in their frequent moving to new fields.

It will probably be difficult to secure more effective leadership under conditions as they exist today. The problem is not one of training and education alone. Were it so, specialized training for specialized tasks, as in the medical profession, might eventually produce a leadership adequate to the tasks of the open country, the agricultural or industrial village church, and the various types of urban religious institutions. But the problem is also one of the conditions under which the ministers in these industrial villages work. Two-thirds of them, as already noted, must divide their time among two or more churches. Often these other churches are not in industrial villages so that the clergyman has several sorts of problems to meet.

MINISTERS' SALARIES

Furthermore, the church is not a generous employer. Despite the large grants-in-aid from denominational funds as well as gifts from the industry, the salaries paid are not attractive. The average ministerial wage was $1,534 a year and parsonage[8] for all churches; $1,610 and parsonage among the white Protestant ministers.[9] In the agricultural village the average salary was $93 a year lower but perquisites were probably higher and living, social and educational conditions better than in the industrial villages. Seven of the ninety-seven clergymen giving full time to their ministry received less than $1,000 a year; nineteen were paid between $1,000 and $1,500, and thirty-three between $1,500 and $2,000. Twenty-eight enjoyed more than $2,000, but of these seventeen had less than $2,500.

Certainly the economic stress under which these men labor is shown by the fact that one-third of these pastors, including one-fourth of those with college and seminary training, had another occupation beside the ministry. Paper-hanging, carpentry, mining, work in the textile mills and salesmanship of a variety of things from insurance to fountain pens and razor blades furnished the additional sources of income. Of the ministers who had other occupations eleven received less than $500 from their churches, six between $500 and $1,000 and twelve between $1,000 and $2,000, two-thirds of whom were paid $1,500 or more. The correlation between low salaries and another occupation is, therefore, quite clear.

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[8] All but five of the resident ministers were furnished with a parsonage.

[9] This average is based on four-fifths of the churches. The other one-fifth included a few Roman Catholic churches from which information could not be obtained and some of the emotional sects that kept no records. The average for the entire group is undoubtedly lower than given. See Appendix Table 17 for regional details.

The congregations served seem to show small concern over the question of ministerial salaries. To many of them the minister seemed to be living an easier life than they and to be as well or better paid. One coal-field's church, the Welsh Presbyterian mentioned before, held that "a good preacher should make as much as a good miner and maintain as high a standard of living as a good union miner." In conformity with this policy they released a popular minister whom they could not afford to keep and depended on students from a nearby seminary rather than accept a man they deemed inferior. But such an incident was exceptional.

The general unsatisfactory situation in the industrial village for ministers is shown also by the high labor turnover. One church in ten was vacant as against one in thirteen in the agricultural villages. A fourth of the ministers had been in their charges less than a year, and in the South and Middle West this proportion was over one-third. In these two regions nearly three-fifths of all the churches were served by men who had been with them less than two years or else they had no minister at all. In New England the comparable proportion was not quite one-fifth.

AN ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEM

It is clear, therefore, that in the industrial village the average minister finds a complex, difficult and unattractive field of labor. If the way to strengthen the declining church in this type of rural community is through improving its leadership, then church administrators have a problem of the first magnitude upon their hands to find, train and support both economically and spiritually a group of men equipped to face the results of the impact of modern industrialism upon an erstwhile rural community and environment. And when, as and if such men are trained, there will still be the question to face as to what the local church can do in a complex industrial situation wherever industry contributes directly or indirectly to land, building or the salary of the minister.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX TABLE 1—NUMBER AND POPULATION OF COMMUNITIES, BY NATIVITY AND COLOR

REGION	COMMUNITIES		PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION			
	Number	Population	Total	Native White	Foreign	Negro
All Regions.......	69	77,470	100.00	62.7	30.8	6.5
Middle Atlantic...	8	11,072	100.0	66.4	31.6	2.0
South............	10	18,500	100.0	88.0	0.0	12.0
Middle West......	22	23,584	100.0	58.5	32.5	9.0
West.............	17	9,902	100.0	32.7	63.0	4.3
New England......	12	14,412	100.0	55.0	45.0	0.0

APPENDIX TABLE 2—RATIO OF MALES TO 100 FEMALES' BY NATIVITY AND COLOR

(17 Communities, U. S. Census, 1920)

REGION	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES					AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES
		NATIVE-BORN				
	Total Population	Native Parentage	Foreign or Mixed Parentage	Foreign-born	Negro	Total Population
All Regions.......	102.0	99.1	101.5	144.4	91.8	94.5
Middle Atlantic...	109.2	102.3	102.4	162.5	*	88.0
South............	94.4	95.7	*	*	85.5	94.3
Middle West......	106.3	99.7	104.6	150.0	132.3	95.1
New England.....	103.8	104.2	97.0	115.4	*	†

* Base less than 100
† No data

APPENDIX TABLE 3—AGE-DISTRIBUTION BY 10-YEAR INTERVALS IN INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES

(17 Communities, U. S. Census, 1920)

AGE-GROUP	MIDDLE ATLANTIC		SOUTH		MIDDLE WEST		NEW ENGLAND*
	Indus. %	Agric. %	Indus. %	Agric. %	Indus. %	Agric. %	Indus. %
MALES							
Under 10 Years	27.1	16.3	27.5	22.9	22.9	18.1	20.8
10-19	21.4	15.4	22.4	19.5	18.2	16.9	15.5
20-29	15.6	13.7	18.0	17.1	13.9	13.7	14.9
30-39	12.8	13.2	11.8	14.0	15.0	12.8	14.9
40-49	10.2	13.2	9.2	11.1	12.3	12.1	11.9
50-59	7.1	12.0	5.7	7.2	8.2	11.2	9.5
60-69	3.5	9.6	3.8	5.2	6.0	8.6	7.5
70 and over†	2.3	6.5	1.6	2.6	3.5	6.4	5.0
FEMALES							
Under 10 Years	29.3	14.2	26.7	20.5	23.8	16.2	22.2
10-19	21.6	15.2	23.0	20.7	19.3	17.3	17.1
20-29	16.0	13.8	19.8	19.0	17.4	15.3	14.4
30-39	11.7	13.4	11.8	13.9	13.3	13.3	14.8
40-49	8.6	13.3	8.5	10.8	10.4	11.9	10.8
50-59	6.5	12.2	5.0	6.9	6.7	11.1	8.7
60-69	3.8	10.0	3.5	4.7	6.0	8.5	6.9
70 and over†	2.5	7.8	1.7	3.2	3.1	6.2	5.1

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* No data for New England on agricultural villages.

† Unknown excluded. Unknown amounted to less than one-twentieth of 1 per cent. in the industrial villages, and to less than four-tenths of 1 per cent. in the agricultural villages.

APPENDIX TABLE 4—MARITAL CONDITION OF POPULATION, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

(17 Communities, U. S. Census, 1920)

Region	Total	Single %	Married %	Widowed %	Divorced %	Unknown %
MALES						
All Regions......	7,985	32.2	61.4	5.5	0.7	0.2
Middle Atlantic...	1,749	38.3	56.5	4.6	0.3	0.3
South...........	2,556	31.5	64.6	3.8	0.1	0.0
Middle West.....	2,145	29.7	62.5	6.3	1.4	0.1
New England....	1,535	30.0	60.3	8.2	1.1	0.4
FEMALES						
All Regions......	7,713	26.3	62.4	10.8	0.4	0.1
Middle Atlantic...	1,501	27.3	61.9	10.5	0.3	0.0
South...........	2,792	29.6	59.6	10.5	0.2	0.1
Middle West.....	2,002	23.3	65.7	10.4	0.5	0.1
New England....	1,418	23.2	63.3	12.6	0.7	0.2

APPENDIX TABLE 5—STATUS OF EMPLOYEES

REGION	TOTAL EMPLOYED		EXECUTIVES		FOREMEN		CLERKS		WAGE-EARNERS	
	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.
All Regions.....	22,415	100.0	198	0.9	476	2.1	404	1.8	21,337	95.2
Middle Atlantic..	3,112	100.0	27	0.9	67	2.1	41	1.3	2,977	95.7
South..........	5,447	100.0	38	0.7	93	1.7	106	1.9	5,210	95.7
Middle West....	8,111	100.0	49	0.6	162	2.0	150	1.8	7,750	95.6
West...........	1,984	100.0	16	0.8	34	1.7	18	1.0	1,916	96.5
New England...	3,761	100.0	68	1.8	120	3.2	89	2.4	3,484	92.6

APPENDIX TABLE 6—GAINFULLY EMPLOYED MALES, BY AGE-GROUPS
(17 Communities, U. S. Census, 1920)

REGION	No. of Communities	10 Years and Over		10-14 Years		15-19 Years		20-44 Years		45-64 Years		65 Years and Over		Unknown	
		Total	No. Employed	Total	No. Employed	Total	No. Employed	Total	No. Employed	Total	No. Employed	Total	No. Employed	Total	No. Employed
MALES															
All Regions....	17	9,300	7,149	1,315	65	1,154	747	4,312	4,192	1,896	1,763	619	378	4	4
Middle Atlantic	4	2,049	1,579	300	8	302	195	953	937	392	370	100	67	2	2
South.........	6	3,061	2,324	505	39	441	300	1,456	1,400	526	495	133	90	0	0
Middle West...	5	2,478	1,848	333	6	253	142	1,132	1,095	561	504	198	100	1	1
New England..	2	1,712	1,398	177	12	158	110	771	760	417	394	188	121	1	1
FEMALES															
All Regions....	17	9,026	1,932	1,313	38	1,212	499	4,283	1,122	1,624	227	590	45	4	1
Middle Atlantic	4	1,818	243	317	8	239	71	825	133	331	28	106	3	0	0
South.........	6	3,284	1,045	492	25	538	297	1,635	613	469	90	147	19	3	1
Middle West...	5	2,304	243	302	0	280	43	1,094	160	463	34	164	6	1	0
New England..	2	1,620	401	202	5	155	88	729	216	361	75	173	17	0	0

APPENDIX TABLE 7—PROPORTION OF FEMALES, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, IN THE VARIOUS MARITAL GROUPS WHO ARE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

(17 Communities, U. S. Census, 1920)

REGION	ALL GROUPS		SINGLE		MARRIED		WIDOWED		DIVORCED		UNKNOWN	
	Total	% Employed	Total	% Employed	Total	% Employed	Total	% Employed	Total	% Employed	Total	% Employed
All Regions........	7713	24.6	2031	54.7	4807	11.5	836	24.8	32	59.4	7	85.7
Middle Atlantic....	1501	15.7	410	47.6	929	1.8	157	13.3	5	40.0	0	0.0
South.............	2792	36.5	826	64.0	1665	22.5	293	37.8	6	83.3	2	50.0
Middle West.......	2002	12.1	466	36.9	1315	3.2	208	10.1	11	54.6	2	100.0
New England......	1418	27.9	329	65.0	898	13.3	178	30.3	10	60.0	3	100.0

APPENDIX TABLE 8—PROPORTION OF ILLITERATES IN POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY COLOR

(17 Communities, U. S. Census 1920)

Region	Both Classes			White			Negro		
		ILLITERATES			ILLITERATES			ILLITERATES	
	Total	No.	Per Cent.	Total	No.	Per Cent.	Total	No.	Per Cent.
MALES									
All Regions......	9300	700	7.5	8786	580	6.6	514	120	23.3
Middle Atlantic..	2049	24	1.2	2047	24	1.2	2	0	0.0
South...........	3061	415	13.6	2654	307	11.6	407	108	26.5
Middle West....	2478	193	7.8	2374	181	7.6	104	12	11.5
New England....	1712	68	4.0	1711	68	4.0	1	0	0.0
FEMALES									
All Regions......	9026	621	6.9	8462	495	5.8	564	126	22.3
Middle Atlantic..	1818	30	1.7	1818	30	1.7	0	0	0.0
South...........	3284	382	11.6	2785	268	9.6	499	114	22.8
Middle West ..	2304	159	6.9	2239	147	6.6	65	12	18.5
New England....	1620	50	3.1	1620	50	3.1	0	0	0.0

APPENDIX TABLE 9—SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, BY COLOR

Region	Per Cent. of Enrollment											
	TOTAL				WHITE				NEGRO*			
	All Grades	Grades 1–6	Grades 7 & 8	High School	All Grades	Grades 1–6	Grades 7 & 8	High School	All Grades	Grades 1–6	Grades 7 & 8	High School
All Regions...........	88.3	88.2	88.3	89.0	89.1	89.2	88.5	89.5	72.5	73.0	†	69.4
Middle Atlantic......	89.4	89.9	86.7	90.2	89.4	90.0	86.6	90.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
South...............	83.8	82.9	87.4	86.3	85.5	85.0	88.4	87.2	70.9	71.1	†	69.4
Middle West.........	91.2	92.3	90.4	92.0	91.9	92.1	90.5	92.0	92.1	93.3	†	0.0
New England........	89.9	90.5	86.7	93.3	89.9	90.4	87.1	93.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

* Negro enrollment is less than 4 per cent. of the total.

† Number too small.

APPENDIX TABLE 10—DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCHES

REGION	NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES	NUMBER OF CHURCHES		
		PER COMMUNITY	PER 1,000 POPULATION	
			Industrial Villages	Agricultural Villages
All Regions........	69	2.3	2.0	4.2
Middle Atlantic....	8	3.8	2.7	4.3
South.............	10	4.7	2.5	4.5
Middle West.......	22	1.8	1.7	3.8
West..............	17	0.7	1.2	2.2
New England......	12	2.4	2.0	*

* No agricultural villages studied in New England.

APPENDIX TABLE 11—AVERAGE RESIDENT MEMBERSHIP OF INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE CHURCHES, BY RELIGIOUS GROUPS

REGION	AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS PER CHURCH					
	WHITE PROTESTANT		CATHOLIC		NEGRO PROTESTANT	
	Industrial	Agricultural	Industrial	Agricultural	Industrial	Agricultural
All Regions....	117	140	752	287	83	83
Middle Atlantic	132	151	378	274	33	17
South.........	156	154	0	296	133	89
Middle West...	69	153	360	328	29	14
West..........	160	92	7,500†	217	20	9
New England..	80	*	501	*	0	*

* No agricultural villages studied in New England.
† One church organization served an entire district of all 17 communities studied.

APPENDIX TABLE 12—COMPARATIVE SIZE OF INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE CHURCHES

Resident Membership	Per Cent. of Churches*	
	Industrial Villages	Agricultural Villages
Under 50	32.5	25.9
50 to 100	20.3	23.8
100 to 150	16.2	13.8
150 to 200	6.7	11.8
200 to 250	8.1	7.4
250 and over	16.2	17.3

* Total number of churches: Industrial villages, 148; agricultural villages 769.

APPENDIX TABLE 13—PROTESTANT CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP, BY SEX- AND AGE-GROUPS

Region	Total Members	Males			Females		
		Total	Under 21	21 & Over	Total	Under 21	21 & Over
				NUMBER			
All Regions	14,611	5,787	*1,359*	*4,428*	8,824	*2,086*	*6,738*
Middle Atlantic	2,862	1,147	*315*	*832*	1,715	*463*	*1,252*
South	6,833	2,768	*691*	*2,077*	4,065	*1,092*	*2,973*
Middle West	1,893	723	*155*	*568*	1,170	*245*	*925*
West	963	387	*84*	*303*	576	*116*	*460*
New England	2,060	762	*114*	*648*	1,298	*170*	*1,128*
				PER CENT.			
All Regions	100.0	39.6	*9.3*	*30.3*	60.4	*14.3*	*46.1*
Middle Atlantic	100.0	40.1	*11.0*	*29.1*	59.9	*16.2*	*43.7*
South	100.0	40.5	*10.1*	*30.4*	59.5	*16.0*	*43.5*
Middle West	100.0	38.2	*8.2*	*30.0*	61.8	*12.9*	*48.9*
West	100.0	40.6	*8.8*	*31.8*	60.4	*12.2*	*48.2*
New England	100.0	37.0	*5.5*	*31.5*	63.0	*8.2*	*54.8*

APPENDIX TABLE 14—DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENSES IN PROTESTANT CHURCHES

REGION	PER CENT.			
	Total	Salary	Benevolence	Upkeep
All Regions.	100.0	52.5	19.9	27.6
Middle Atlantic.	100.0	48.7	20.1	31.2
South.	100.0	47.4	22.9	29.7
Middle West.	100.0	74.7	10.0	15.3
West.	100.0	72.4	6.0	21.6
New England.	100.0	47.6	23.2	29.2

APPENDIX TABLE 15—OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF CHURCH OFFICERS

REGION	NO. OF CHURCHES REPORTING	CHURCH OFFICERS					
		PER CENT. IN INDUSTRY				PER CENT. NOT IN INDUSTRY
		Total	Executives	Clerks & Foremen	Hands	
All Regions*. . .	120	889	8.4	18.3	42.5	30.8
Middle Atlantic	26	219	9.1	18.3	34.7	37.9
South.	37	252	8.8	20.2	37.3	33.7
Middle West. .	34	252	7.5	20.2	55.6	16.7
New England. .	23	166	8.4	12.6	41.0	38.0

* No data were obtained for the West.

APPENDIX TABLE 16—AMOUNT OF PASTORAL SERVICE FOR ALL CHURCHES AND FOR WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

REGION	ALL CHURCHES					WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES				
	NO. OF CHURCHES REPORTING	NO. OF CHURCHES HAVING MINISTERS				NO. OF CHURCHES REPORTING	NO. OF CHURCHES HAVING MINISTERS			
		Full-Time Resident	Part-Time Resident	Non-Resident	None		Full-Time Resident	Part-Time Resident	Non-Resident	None
All Regions.......	156	43	49	49	15	114	27	42	34	11
Middle Atlantic...	29	10	10	6	3	20	4	7	6	3
South............	47	8	23	14	2	38	8	19	10	1
Middle West......	39	8	9	16*	6	29	4	9	11	5
West.............	12	6	0	3	3	5	4	0	0	1
New England.....	29	11	7	10*	1	22	7	7	7	1

* One is full-time.

APPENDIX TABLE 17—AVERAGE SALARIES OF MINISTERS FOR ALL CHURCHES AND FOR WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

REGION	INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES				AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES (ALL CHURCHES)
	ALL CHURCHES		WHITE PROT. CHURCHES		
	No. of Churches Reporting	Average Salary	No. of Churches Reporting	Average Salary	Average Salary
All Regions......	121	$1,534	96	$1,610	$1,441
Middle Atlantic..	22	1,463	15	1,546	1,506
South...........	36	1,675	32	1,759	1,456
Middle West....	32	1,162	24	1,210	1,435
West...........	7	1,460	4	2,075	1,396
New England....	24	1,905	21	1,796	*

* No agricultural villages studied in New England.

INDEX

A Study of the Mill Schools of North Carolina, John Harrison Cook, 95 n.
Age, distribution of population, 19
American Federalists, M. G. Evans, 100 n.
American Federation of Labor, 76
American Villagers, C. Luther Fry, 33, 35
Attendance,
  church, 137
  school, 88
Automobiles, 42

Baseball teams, 60
Boy Scouts, 63
Budgets, church, 147

Catholic church, 103
  less successful with men, 135
  more, in industrial than agricultural villages, 16
  situation of, 133
Children,
  high proportion of, in industrial villages, 19
  labor, 32
  schools, 87–102
Church schools, 20
Churches,
  active members, 127, 129 n.
  activities of, 107
  aid to, from industry and home-mission funds, 143
  and hours of labor, 36
Churches—*Continued*
  and toiler preachers, 163
  attendance, 137
  attitude of membership toward the, 129
  average value of, 141
  budgets, 147
  cannot count on support from people in contiguous rural territory, 23
  Catholic, 133
  class distinction, 116
  contrasts in age- and sex-distribution have implications for, 20
  contributions to, and number employed in family, 146
  distribution, 103, 181
  effect on, of outside aid, 148
  effect on, of strikes, 48
  evangelistic emphasis, 114
  example of social service, 112
  expenses, distribution of, 183
  grants-in-aid, 144
  has exceptional opportunity to minister to youth, 20
  housing conditions a problem for religious work, 58
  in places need no program because of social organization under company auspices, 125
  income, 142
  serving constituency with one occupation, 35
  leaders of, 153–172
  libraries, 111

Churches—*Continued*
- make but slight adaptation of program to industrial situation, 122
- marked regional variations in proportion of church-members to population, 126
- meagre programs of, 124
- members, 135, 181, 182
- Middle-West church, 119
- ministers, 154
- motives for contributions by industry, 151
- negro, 14, 15, 109
- number of, 104
- occupational status of officials of, 153, 183
- paternalism and the, 149
- per capita expenditures, 146
- per-member contributions, 145
- population of villages predominately rural, with rural attitude toward, 14
- prayer-meetings, 114
- programs, 106
- property, 141
- proportion of population in, 126
- response to program, 126
- salaries of ministers, 170, 185
- score-card for efficient functioning of procedures of, 122
- services, 106
- serving a rural community, subjected to social control not of its own devising, 5
- sex of members, 135
- sociological point of view of problem, 6
- social gospel, 122
- success of the Sunday school, 136

Churches—*Continued*
- successful New England church, 113
- subject of investigation, 4
- summary of data, 138
- Sunday schools, 111
- support of, 140–152
- support from men and young people, 134
- two Southern churches, 112
- what program they do depends upon action of its minister, 124

Class distinctions and the church, 116
Clinics, 61
Cliques, occupational, 81
Coal industry, the, 26
- drop in consumption of, 27
- electricity, development of, 28
- unions, 27
- wages, 28

Coal towns, 10
Company landlordism, 55
Compulsory school attendance, 91
Community, the, see "Villages"
Community-houses, 60, 61
- the company, 63

Corporation, responsibility of, to community in which located, 71
"Croppers," 54

Doctors, 60
Denominational administration, in industrial village, 5

Economic conditions, 26–54
- attempt to transfer mills from New England to the South, 29
- automobiles, 42

Economic conditions—*Cont'd*
  compulsory school attendance, 91
  effect of depression, 47
  employer's attitude on wages, 43
  employment, 30
  high proportion of employment of older people usually means child labor as well, 32
  hours of labor, 36
  labor turnover, 45
  night work, 38
  paternalism, pro and con, 62–73
  psychological results of depression, 52
  regularity of employment, 44
  safeguards for workers, 51
  social results of strike, 48, 49
  standards of living in industrial communities, 42
  starvation as result of strike, 49
  unions, 27, 30
  village a community where social life is dominated by the industry, 85
  wage equivalents, 41
  wages, 28, 38, 39, 40
  women in industry, 32, 179
Education, 87–102, see also "Schools"
  in the North, 97
  in the South, 95
  industry and, 94
  intelligence tests, 96
  of parents, 92
Electric lights, 57
Employer,
  as storekeeper of employees, 58 n.
  employees as tenants of, 57
Employment,
  average working hours, 37
  child labor, 32
  children, 32
  effects of depression, 47
  employers' attitude on wages, 43
  gainful, 30, 178, 179
  hours of labor, 36
  in basic industry, 34
  industrial villages have largest percentage of males gainfully employed, 31
  labor turnover, 45
  less executives and more wage-earners in industrial communities, 35
  night work, 38
  older men, 31
  regularity of, 44
  safeguards for workers, 51
  shifts, working, 38
  wages, 38
  women, 32
Employment area, 22 n.

Farmers, and industrial work, 24
Ford, Henry, his idea for a remedy for decline of agriculture, 4
Ford Motor Car Company and rural industrialization, 25 n.
Foreign-born, 13

Grants-in-aid, 144

High schools, 89
Homes, 55
Hospitals, 61
Hours and Earnings in Bituminous Coal, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 27 n.
Housing conditions, 56

Illiterates, proportion in population, 180

Immigrant Farmers and Their Children, Brunner, 90 n.

Industrial Georgia, Georgia Railway and Power Company, 40

Intelligence tests, 96

Jacksonville wage-agreement, 28

Japan, and night work, 38 n.

Knights of Columbus, 114

Kropotkin, Prince, his idea for a remedy for decline of agriculture, 3

Ku Klux Klan, 78, 120

Labor,
  cheap, drained from the farms, attracting mills to country, 9
  turnover, 45
  unions, see "Unions"

Libraries, 61

Lost Time and Labor Turnover in Cotton Mills, Woman's Bureau, U. S. Dept. of Labor, 46 n.

Lumber camps, 53

Members,
  active, 127
  attitude toward the church, 129
  proportion of, 126

Mill villages, 11

Mills, barrier between agricultural population and that of, 83

Ministers, the, 154–172
  an administrative problem, 172
  and politics, 160
  and strikes, 165

Ministers, the—*Continued*
  attitudes of, 160
  church standards for, 157
  conservative attitudes, 162
  programs, 156
  salaries, 170
  serve more than one church, 155
  special activities of, 158
  Sunday meetings of strikers and, 166
  toiler preachers, 163
  training, 156
  when strikes come, 165

Moving-pictures, 60, 61

Musical organizations, 61

Nationalities, and a community, 78

Native-born, 13

Negroes, 79
  churches, 109
  less, in industrial villages, 14

New England industrial villages, 12

Night schools, 62

Night work, 38, 123
  abolishment of, for women, 38

Occupational cliques, 81

Occupational hazards, 61

Officials, church, 153

1,000 City Churches, H. Paul Douglass, 107 n.

Parent-Teachers Association, 101

Parsonages, value of, 141

Paternalism, 62–73
  and the church, 149
  in New England, 68

People, the, 13–25
  age-distribution, 19

People, the—*Continued*
  children, high proportion of, as compared to agricultural villages, 19
  majority of, from rural neighborhoods, 13
  of contiguous territory do not support church in an industrial village, 23
  old people, 19
  racial stocks, 15
  sexes, distribution of, 18
  the workers, 23
Piedmont Carolinas; Where Wealth Awaits You, Duke Power Company, 40
Politics, and ministers, 160
Population, proportion of, in church, 126
Power, attracting mills to country, 9
Prayer-meetings, 114
Programs, church, 156
Protestant churches, 103
Protestantism, development in America, 5

Race relations, 79
Racial barriers, 79
Racial stocks, 15
Rise of the Cotton Mills in the South, Broadus Mitchell, 29
Running water, 57
"Rural" not always agricultural, 3

Salaries, ministers, 170, 185
Schools, 87–102
  attendance, 88
  compulsory attendance, 91
  education of parents, 92
  extra-curricular activities, 100
  had no pupils from the country, 22
Schools—*Continued*
  high-school enrollment, 89
  industrial village, not equal of agriculture, but doing good work, 99
  industry and education, 94
  low proportion of high-school students, cause and effect, 92
  Parent-Teachers Association, 101
  school data, 93
  Southern schools, 95
  superintendent, 96
  teachers, 95, 98
  vacation Bible schools, 112, 113
  vocational training, 99, 100
Score-card, for functioning of church procedure, 122
Services, church, 106
Sexes, distribution of, 18
Social life, 55–86
  doctors, resident, 60
  homes, 55
  housing conditions, 56
  industry as a social worker, 58
  meagre in industrial villages, 4
  organizations for, 73
  paternalism, pro and con, 62–73
  selected social services in industrial and agricultural villages, 62
Social organizations,
  activities of, 74
  occupational cliques, 81
  attendance at activities, 76
  community conflicts, 78
  number of, 73
  race relations, 79
  trade unions, 75

Social workers, 64, 72, 163
Societies, young peoples, 20
South, the,
  and Negroes, 15
  and native-born workers, 15
  has more women than men industrial workers, 18
Southern Mill Hills, Lois MacDonald, 13 n., 46, 46 n., 92 n.
Starvation, and strikes, 49
Stores, 22
  effect on, of strikes, 48
Strikes, 30, 47
  and housing problem, 57
  and the ministers, 159, 165
  effect on social life of community, 49
  psychological results of, 52
  social results, 49
  starvation, 49
Study, the,
  church, the, as subject of, 4
  division of, 8
Sunday schools,
  program, 111
  success of, 136

Teachers, 95, 98
Tested Methods in Town and Country Churches, Brunner, 107 n.
Textile communities, 10
Textile Industry,
  attempt to move centre of, 29
  depression of 1920, 29
  strikes, 30
  turnover labor, 45
  wages, 40
Toilets, 57
Town, and relation to village, 82
Trade area, 22 n.

Unemployment insurance, 51
Unions, Labor, 27, 30, 75
  and the church, 132
  and the minister, 130

Vacation Bible schools, 112, 113
Villages,
  absorption of entire, in a single industry, 34
  age-distribution, 19, 176
  and automobiles, 42
  and town, 82
  average minister finds a complex field of labor, 172
  average trade area, 22 n.
  church membership, 22
  church standards for ministers, 157
  coal towns, 10
  community conflicts and cleavages, 78
  companies as landlords of workers, 55
  comparison of marital status, 21 n., 177
  economic conditions, 26–54
  employment area, 22 n.
  employment, gainful, 30
  has more foreign-born but fewer Negroes than agricultural village, 14
  in New England, 12
  institution of, cannot be considered as rural, 25
  largest per cent. of males gainfully employed, 31, 178
  lead agricultural in proportion of night schools, 62
  lumber camps, 53
  majority of, unincorporated, 7
  mill, description of, 11
  must attract new industry or function, or die, 9

Villages—*Continued*
- negroes, 79
- non-company, fares better than company-owned, in unionized areas, 50
- number of, 7, 175
- occupational cliques, 81
- proportion of illiterates, 180
- proportion of population in church, 126
- race relations, 79
- ratio of males to females, by nativity and color, 175
- relationship of, to surrounding country, 23
- responsibility of an industry to the community where plant is located, 71
- rural relationships, 23
- schools, 87–102
- schools of, had no pupils from the country, 22
- social life of, 55–86
- social life dominated by the industry, 85
- textile communities, 10
- the mills and the, 82
- the people, 13–25
- the workers, 23
- tie-up between agriculture and industry is not close, 24
- types of, 8

Vocational training, 99

Wages, 38; see also "Salaries"
- employers' attitude on, 43
- equivalents, 41

Water, 61 n.

Welfare Work in Mill Villages, Harriet L. Herring, 41 n., 96 n., 116 n., 140 n.

What the Coal Commission Found, Edward Hund, F. G. Tryon and Joseph Willets, 28 n.

Women,
- and night work, 38
- employment, 32
- in industry, predominate in South, 18

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